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A
SKETCH
OF
CHINESE HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN:

COMPRISING
A RETROSPECT OF THE FOREIGN INTERCOURSE
AND TRADE WITH
CHINA.

Illustrated by a new and corrected Map of the Empire.

BY THE
REV. CHARLES GUTZLAFF,
NOW, AND FOR MANY YEARS PAST, RESIDENT IN THAT COUNTRY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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SKETCH
OF
CHINESE HISTORY.

CHAPTER XVII.

TA-TSING DYNASTY.
FROM 1644 TO OUR TIMES.

THE Mantchoo Tatars are a Tongoosian race, anciently known by the name of Joorjeh, not unlike those wretched hordes which at present inhabit the banks of the Amoor. When the Mongols were driven from China, some of their tribes took refuge amongst the Mantchoos, but were followed by the imperial soldiers, who forced the Mantchoos to sue for peace. Poverty long prevented them from revenging themselves upon the Chinese ; but, as they were afterwards permitted to bring their furs, ginseng, and horses to the Chinese market, they gradually

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grew more wealthy and bold; and in order properly to regulate the affairs of their country, which is very extensive, divided it into seven principalities.

As they were not acquainted with the art of writing, the origin of the present imperial family is involved in obscurity. According to the Chinese records, the Mantchoo empire took its rise near the Long White Mountain, to the north of Korea, where, in a genial climate, which has proved productive of great spirits, between the sources of three great rivers, and in the neighbourhood of a lake, near mount Balkhori, there formerly lived three celestial maidens. One day, while bathing in the lake Balkhori, a sacred magpie dropped on the robe of one of the three a red fruit, eating of which, she became pregnant, and bore a son, who could speak from his birth, and whose form displayed something marvellous. Demanding of the eldest of her sisters what name she should bestow upon the child, she answered: "Heaven has sent him, in order to restore peace among the kingdoms; you must, therefore, call him Aisinghioro, and give him the surname of Balkhori Yong-shon." After his mother had been removed to the icy cave, where she died, her son entered a small boat, in which he followed the course of the river. There were at that time

three chiefs engaged in mortal feuds; one of them descending to the river for water, on perceiving the boy, greatly admired him; and his relations also going to see him, and hearing that he was born in order to put a stop to dissension, they exclaimed: "This man is a saint, begotten by Heaven!" They therefore chose him for their prince; upon which, he adopted for his kingdom the honorary title of Mantchoo. At last, after several generations had passed away, the subjects revolted, and extirpated his whole family, excepting Fan-sha-kin, a lad, who fled into the desert. When closely pursued by his enemies, a magpie alighted upon him; so that his pursuers, mistaking him for the withered trunk of a tree, passed by at a distance. One of his descendants, called in Chinese Chaou-tsoo-yuen-hwang-te, who had become very powerful, and therefore adopted the title of emperor, revenged the injury done to his family. Tsung-jin-beile, born in 1559, who had the forehead of a dragon and the eye of a phoenix, conquered all the tribes to the east of the river Sooksookho, and attacked the Chinese commander at the frontier city, Tooloon, 1583; and the place was taken by his grandson, Tae-tsoo, then a young lad. In order to appease the wrath of the Mantchoos, the Chinese government next delivered up to Tae-tsoo

the commander of the frontier, who had given rise to the invasion, and consented to pay annually eight hundred ounces of silver and fifteen pieces of brocade, ornamented with embroidered dragons. But at the same time, they instigated some malcontent Mantchoo and Mongol tribes to rebel against Tae-tsoo. Their respective forces met, a bloody battle ensued, in 1593, and Tae-tsoo was the victor. From this moment he bore an inveterate hatred against the Mongol race. This great prince gave to his nation a syllabic alphabet, founded upon the Syrian Karshun, in imitation of the Mongolian. Being continually oppressed by the Chinese mandarins on the frontiers, Tae-tsoo declared himself independent, and assumed the name T'een-ming—Heaven's decree; in Mantchoo, Abkae-foolinga. But before he marched against the family of Ming, he published the following manifesto:—

“ My forefathers did not injure a blade of grass, or usurp an inch of ground, that belonged to Ming; but, nevertheless, Ming commenced hostilities without cause. This is the first thing to be avenged.

“ Still, desirous of peace, we wished to engrave it on a stone, and to confirm it by an oath, that neither Mantchoos nor Chinese should pass their respective frontiers; whosoever violated this treaty should be exposed to the wrath

of Heaven. But notwithstanding this solemn assurance the Ming passed the frontiers, in order to assist the Ye-hih. This is the second thing to be avenged.

“ Whenever a subject of Ming passed the frontiers, and committed depredations, I destroyed him, agreeably to the oath I had sworn. But Ming was faithless to the treaty, complained of my behaviour, put to death my envoy, and seized and slew ten of my subjects on the borders. This is the third grievance.

“ The troops of Ming passed the frontier to assist the Ye-hih, and caused my daughter, who was already betrothed, to be given in marriage to a Mongol prince. This is the fourth cause of hostilities.

“ For many generations, I held, as my frontiers, the Chae-ho, and adjacent hills; but Ming did not permit my people to reap the harvest, and expelled them from thence : this is the fifth thing to be avenged.

“ The Ye-hih committed crimes against Heaven; but Ming acted with partiality, and gave entire credit to their statements; whilst he addressed a letter to me, in which he vilified and insulted me. This is the sixth reason for war.

“ Formerly, the Khada tribe assisted the Ye-hih, and twice attacked me. I stated my complaint to Heaven, and reduced the Khada. But

Ming formed a conspiracy with them ; they made war upon me, to force me to restore to them their country ; and the Ye-hih several times invaded the Khada territory. In the contentions between neighbouring states, those who obey the will of Heaven, conquer ; those who oppose the celestial decrees, are defeated and destroyed. Can one recal to life again those who have been slain, or force them to restore the prisoners ? Heaven raises the princes of a great people, and makes them sovereigns of the world. Wherefore, then, are the Ming enraged against my kingdom ? Formerly, all the hordes of Khoolun, who commenced bloodshed, came to attack me ; but Heaven abandoned the Khoolun, whilst my nation flourished as the spring. Now the Ming support the Ye-hih, who are under severe reprehension of wrath, and thus oppose the will of Heaven ; reversing right and wrong, and subverting good order. This is the seventh thing to be revenged. To redress these seven grievances, I am now going to subjugate the Ming."

He accordingly marched against the Chinese with 20,000 men ; and his power increased daily. In 1620, he removed his court to San-khoo, east from Mouk-den, which, in 1625, he made his capital. His successor (in 1627,) was his son, Tae-tsung-wan-hwang-te, born in 1592, who be-

stowed upon his reign the name of Teën-tsung; in Mantchoo, Soore-khan. He solemnly proclaimed himself emperor, in 1636, adopting, as the name of his dynasty, Ta-tsing—great purity; and changing that of his reign, to Tsung-tih; in Mantchoo, Wesikhon-erdemoong-he. Tae-tsung had frequently made war upon China, and pushed his conquests as far as ten le * from Peking. He had even penetrated to Tëen-tsin, subdued several tribes of the Mongols, and subjugated Leaou-tung and Korea; and was thus a formidable neighbour. But he certainly never expected to be able to subvert the Chinese monarchy, until, led on by circumstances, and seeing the utter weakness of the empire, he conceived the idea of ascending the throne.

Of the family of Tsung-ching, the last emperor of Ming, his daughter, at whom he had aimed a deadly blow, survived, and was, after her recovery, married to a Chinese grandee. Though almost all the grandees had abandoned the cause of their unhappy emperor, there still remained Le-kwö-ching, a brave general, who disputed the victory with the rebel in the streets of Peking; but, he finally desisted from fighting, when Le-tsze-ching had promised him that he would spare the princes of the blood,

* A Chinese measure of distance, which may be roughly stated as the third of an English mile.

and give to the emperor and empress a funeral becoming their high rank. He was present at their burial, and, as a faithful servant, bedewed their tombs with tears. Having, at first, promised to serve under the banners of Le-tsze-ching, he repented of his agreement; because the heir of the crown was still alive. But, not to be unfaithful to his promise, and to save himself from the disgrace of fighting against the son of his sovereign, he committed suicide.

Woo-san-kwei, a celebrated general, who was stationed on the frontiers of Mantchoo Tatar, hearing these unwelcome news, resolved to avenge his master. He therefore concluded a peace with the Tatars, and sent them valuable presents to engage them in an alliance against the usurper, Le-tsze-ching. They willingly obeyed these summonses, which opened to them the road to China. The Mantchoo army was, at that time, well disciplined; and, acting with a swiftness, of which the tardy Chinese soldiers could form no idea, their forces were irresistible. Woo-san-kwei advanced by forced marches to subdue the rebel. His father entreated him to abstain from this wild undertaking; but the son was firm in his resolution: both the armies met; victory remained for a long time undecided; but, finally, the valour of the loyal army gained some advantage; and, seven thousand

Mantchoos arriving at this critical moment, the victory was gained by the imperial forces ; while the whole rebel army was defeated and dispersed. A second engagement proved equally destructive to the rebel forces, which were driven, in succession, from fortress to fortress. To revenge himself, Le-tsze-ching decapitated the father of Woo-san-kwei, and hung his head over the walls of Peking ; which so imbittered the loyal troops, that they vowed bloody revenge upon the tyrant and his host. The rebels, beginning now to tremble, left the capital during the night, after having set fire to the imperial palace and the inner gates. Whilst Woo-san-kwei sent a detachment of soldiers to extinguish the flames, he himself pursued the enemy, of whom he sacrificed 10,000 to the manes of his father. He met the rebels in a pitched battle, at Ching-ting-foo, after having reinforced his army with 60,000 Mantchoos and Mongols. After much carnage, the victory remained undecided ; however, Le-tsze-ching retreated to Shan-se. Being freed from this monster, he was anxious to send back the Tatars to their homes, and promised to pay them the stipulated tribute ; but his allies were not so very anxious to depart for their dreary deserts, and engaged themselves to pacify the empire, and to preserve the capital from every attack. A detachment of Mantchoo Ta-

tars was therefore dispatched to Peking. The Chinese welcomed them as the saviours of the country; but, as soon as they had entered the city, they possessed themselves of the gates; shortly afterwards, they proclaimed Tae-tsung's ninth son, then a boy of seven years, emperor of China, in 1644. He adopted the title of Shun-she; and, after his death, received the ancestral name, She-tsoo-chang-hwang-te.

Woo-san-kwei had been appointed governor of Shen-se and Kan-suh. He saw, with deep regret, the usurpation of the empire, but smothered his wrath, till the time of revenge should come. Le-tsze-ching, vigorously pursued by this general, was brought into the greatest straits. His troops deserted, his friends disappeared, and he was at length compelled to flee to a mountain to hide himself. Hunger forcing him from his retreat, he was taken prisoner by some peasants, who cut off his head, without knowing who he was, and sent it to Woo-san-kwei; and thus this rebellion was quelled.

When the mandarins, at Nanking, had heard of the tragic end of Tsung-ching, they immediately assembled, to choose an imperial prince to ascend the throne. Their choice fell upon Choo-yew-sung, a grandson of the emperor Chin-tsung. The Mantchoos, instead of oppressing the Chinese, treated them with great

lenity. Not wishing to irritate the minds of the people, they accommodated themselves to the Chinese customs, left the native mandarins in their employment, and created new offices for their own grandees. Such conduct was greatly calculated to conciliate the affections of the people, who were disgusted with the anarchy that had existed, under their native princes, and sighed for peace. It was therefore easy for the Mantchoos to subjugate the different provinces of the empire; their march through the country was one continued triumph. A great many Mantchoo adventurers, hearing of the success of their countrymen in China, crowded round their standards, and thus greatly increased the army.

Whilst the young Mantchoo prince was anxious to acquire the knowledge requisite to rule an empire well, the Nanking emperor only lived for his own pleasure. His court was the seat of cabals, where one officer supplanted the other. Instead of providing a sufficient force to bid defiance to the Tatars, they were only anxious to advance their own interest. The Mantchoo regency, in order to prevail upon Fuh-wang, the Nanking monarch, to abdicate the crown, sent him a long document, stating their claims in very powerful language. The general, who was entrusted with its delivery, thought it unnecessary to trouble the effeminate emperor with re-

monstrances, but boldly advanced with a large force. A young man, who pretended to be the heir to the crown, creating great confusion, the Tatars seized upon this favourable moment, and took Suy-choo by assault. The slaughter which took place was dreadful. As the Chinese soldiers had fought with great bravery, and had killed a great number of Tatars, they were all butchered in cold blood. The court at Nanking, during all this time, was engaged in deliberation, but took no measures in order to avert the evil which threatened the country. Whilst the Chinese general besought the emperor, most earnestly, to send him an additional body of soldiers, the Tatars advanced, by rapid marches, till only a fordable river separated them from the Chinese, who were drawn up in regular order; but the Tatars immediately crossed the river, and thereby struck so great a panic into their ranks, that they took to flight, without having even aimed a blow at their enemies. Only a few soldiers could be rallied by the brave general, who had to oppose the overwhelming force of a victorious enemy. When a messenger arrived at Nanking, to communicate these bad news to the emperor, he found him asleep after a debauch. When he had recovered from his slumber, and was acquainted with the state of things, he immediately fled. As soon as this

was known in the city, the people hastened to the prison, to bring forth the pretended heir of the crown, and seated him upon the throne. The following day the Tatars arrived at the gates of Nanking, and the Chinese grandees delivered to them the keys of the city. But the Tatars acted with moderation ; all the mandarins retained their offices, and the city suffered nothing.

The ex-emperor, now flying in all haste, the cities refused to open their gates to him, and he became an outcast. In this great emergency a Chinese grandee pursued him, and when one of the imperial servants perceived the pursuers, he said to the emperor : " Let us save ourselves from the disgrace of having died by the hands of these infamous rebels," and, having said this, he jumped, with the emperor, into the Yang-tsze-këang, where both were drowned.

Of all the Ming princes who still survived, no one was better fitted than Loo-gan, to sway the imperial sceptre. He was in possession of the Che-keang province, had an excellent army, and a full treasure ; but, he declined the honour, whilst the Tatars were advancing and carrying all before them. They finally invested Hang-choo, his capital ; when the prince, foreseeing the inevitable ruin in which he would involve the city, by offering resistance to these implacable

enemies, surrendered the city, only stipulating that his subjects should be spared. But, on gaining possession of the town, the Tatars immediately executed the generous monarch, without reflecting upon the nobility of his great soul.

To render the state of the distracted country still more lamentable, a host of pirates ravaged the maritime provinces. None of these buccaneers are so celebrated as Ching-che-lung, who, after having cruised for several years along the whole coast, and made an immense booty, was finally bought over by the mandarins, and employed for the destruction of his former accomplices, in which he acquitted himself so well, that the emperor at Nanking bestowed upon him a princess. But he did not remain faithful to his patron ; for when the Tatars advanced towards Nanking, his fleet being anchored at the mouth of the Yang-tsze-këang, he might have disputed their passage, and thus saved the empire from ruin ; but instead of lending any assistance, he withdrew with all his junks.

At that time, 1645, there lived one of the Ming princes, in Fuh-keën, whose name was Tang. As he was the only one of the imperial princes who could resist the power of the Tatars, he declared himself the protector of the empire, and obtained the suffrages of the Fuh-

keën men ; calling upon all the imperial princes to expel the barbarians, and unite with him in this great work.

At once to put a stop to these revolutions, the Tatars advised all the inhabitants who were loyal to the Mantchoo family, to shave their heads, and adopt the Mantchoo dress, for thus they wished to distinguish their partizans. But this order so irritated the minds of the Chinese, that they took up arms *en masse*, and furiously attacked the Tatars. In vain these invincible soldiers resisted their fury ; they were driven towards the Yang-tsze-këang, in which they were drowned. Che-këang, and the southern part of Këang-nan were thus freed from the Tatars. Instead however of following up the victory, Tang had to combat his domestic enemies, and to expostulate with the prince of Loo, who had taken possession of Che-këang province. The great strife-maker was Ching-che-lung, who, prompted by ambition, wished to ascend the throne. In the meanwhile the Tatars rallied their forces, fell upon Che-këang, and conquered within a very short time the whole province. Loo lost his life. From hence they marched towards Fuh-keën, where their name was sufficient to make all hearts quake. Tang, forsaken by his adherents, abdicated the crown, and fled to Keang-se. When the Tatars

had arrived at Chang-choo, they were informed, that Ching-chê-lung was with his fleet near at hand. Peile, the Tatar general, had no other alternative, than offering the formidable pirate the rank of generalissimo, which he accepted. Landing after this to visit the Tatar general, Peile, at Fuh-choo, he was received with all the honours due to his rank ; but, when he again desired to return to his fleet, the Tatar courteously requested that he would accompany him to court. On his arrival in Peking, he was strictly guarded, and shortly afterwards put to death ; but, when the pirates saw these treacherous dealings, they rallied their forces under Ching-ching-kung, and again began to ravage the coast.

Tang, being pursued by the Tatars, and seeing that he could not save himself from their pursuit, threw himself into a well. His wife was taken prisoner, and beheaded at Fuh-choo. As soon as the governor of Kwang-se heard of his tragical end, he proclaimed the prince of Yung-ming, a grandson of Shin-tsung, emperor, under the title of Yung-leih. The princes of Chow, Yih and Lëaou, at Canton, called together a solemn assembly at the provincial city, and chose Choo-yüë-gaou emperor. He was the brother of Tang, and having escaped from the Tatars, arrived at Canton, when these im-

portant consultations took place. Instead of uniting their forces, and attacking the common enemy, Yung-leih sent Pong-yaou, an imperial censor, to Choo-yue-gaou, to announce his accession to the throne; which so irritated the haughty prince, that he killed the messenger, sent an army against his rival, and was defeated. To crown the whole, the Tatars entered Canton without resistance, killed the three princes who had chosen Choo-yue-gaou; the greater part of the Chinese officers forsook their standards, and the loyal soldiers chose rather to die bravely, than to surrender to the enemy. They thence marched into Kwang-se, and finding no enemy, advanced very boldly. Holding the Chinese army in contempt, they took no precautions in their march, and entered the province in three divisions. At first they proved successful; but Yung-leih, animated by the energy of despair, met them in so determined a manner, that the Tatar army was several times routed, and once almost annihilated. When Le-ching-tung, the commander of Canton, heard of this success, he called together his soldiers, who had for a long time received no pay, and were in a wretched condition. "Have the Tatars," he said, haranguing them, "resolved to starve these brave people, who expose themselves daily in their service. I must espouse your interests; let us shake

off their odious yoke. May our rightful master live,—may our legitimate emperor live !” When, having said the last words, he cut off his tail, the badge of Mantchoo servitude ; and dispatched the viceroy, who was present at this occasion. Having seized upon the treasure of the province, he called upon all the inferior officers to follow his standard, and the whole province declared for Yung-leih, prince of Kwei, a title generally given him, whilst soldiers and officers cut off their tails, the badge of servitude. In Fuh-keën, as well as Këang-se, a strong party in behalf of the new emperor, had been formed, but were unable to maintain themselves against the overwhelming Tatar forces.

Ching-ching-kung, the son of Ching-che-lung, had conquered the coast of Fuh-keën ; but when he saw the defeat of a priest, who had made a diversion in favour of the Chinese party, he repaired to his fleet. The principal Chinese generals were twice defeated in their attempt at reducing Këang-se and Këang-nan ; and Le-ching-tung, who had raised so great hopes, despaired when a slight disaster had befallen them, and the soldiers, losing all courage, became mutinous. To bury his cares, he gave himself over to drinking, and was drowned in an attempt to cross a mountain stream. Ho-nan and Hoo-nan had also declared in favour of

Yung-leih. But Ho-ting-këaou, who was the commander of the Chinese forces, failing in the attempt to resist the Tatars, was defeated, and both these provinces were lost, 1648.

So disastrous were all the endeavours of the Chinese to shake off the Tatar yoke. Yung-leih had become a convert to Christianity, and adopted the name of Constantine, with the view of acting the same part, which the great Roman emperor once performed. His general officers were all Christians, and his court was filled with converts. It was his mother and wife who addressed a letter to the Pope, announcing their conversion, in 1649.

The Tatars kept only a small force in Shen-se province. A number of mandarins, who were unwilling to serve the foreigners, issued a manifesto, whereby they called upon every true Chinese to hasten to their standards, and to shake off the odious yoke of the barbarians. They laid siege to Se-gan-foo, the capital, but when a large army arrived from Peking, the whole Chinese host dispersed, and was no more heard of.

The Tatars having committed great irregularities at Tae-tung, so much irritated the minds of the people, that they all rose in open rebellion. Këang-tsae, the governor of the place, at the head of a numerous army, had engaged the

Mongols to afford him assistance, but they did not keep their promise. However, he marched against the Mantchoo army, and routed it in a pitched battle. In a second engagement, he proved equally successful, so that the court of Peking was thrown into the utmost consternation. Ama-wang, the uncle of the young emperor, and regent during his minority, chose the best troops of the eight Mantchoo banners, and marched with all haste against Keang-tsaë. The latter retired into Tae-tung, but being closely invested, made a sally, cut his way through the Tatar army, and was almost victorious, when a fatal arrow pierced his breast, and the hero and expected deliverer of his country fell. As soon as his troops saw this, they either fled in very great consternation, or went over to the Mantchoos.

A robber, Chang-hëen-chung, had pillaged Hoo-kwang, routed the government forces, and taken possession of Sze-chuen, where he proclaimed himself king, under the name of Se-wang. Ferocious by nature, he was nevertheless kind to his soldiers, but murdered all the literati and eunuchs, whom he found in that province. A soldier who had behaved very bravely, received from him a girdle, as a remuneration for his great services. But the soldier, expressing his dissatisfaction at the meanness of his reward,

the tyrant, informed of his complaint, massacred all the soldiers of the regiment to which he belonged. Having invited the Buddhist priests to a great entertainment and sacrifice, he, as soon as they had all assembled, massacred the whole, and issued orders, that the same should be done in all the provinces which were under his jurisdiction. When the Tatar army approached, his general, who was sent to guard the frontiers, deserted to the Mantchoos, which so enraged the tyrant, that he resolved to butcher all the inhabitants of Sze-chuen. The houses of the capital, Ching-too, were forced, and the innocent victims dragged out; lamentable cries pierced the air, the poor wretches threw themselves at the feet of the tyrant, imploring mercy, and he was almost moved to tears. But the impulses of his tiger-like nature returning, he blushed for the weakness he had shown, gave the signal for the carnage, and within a few hours, about 600,000 lifeless corpses floated on the river. He himself rode about, to encourage the soldiers in exercising the work of executioners, and he who refused to obey forfeited his own life. Great numbers of the inhabitants speedily fled, others sold their lives dearly, until the whole province was one desert. When, finally, the Tatars approached, the bloody tyrant called his soldiers together, boasted of being

left a standing monument of dark revenge, and ordered them to bring on the following day all their wives before the army, for he considered them a mere incumbrance upon a long march, which he was going to undertake. To give the example, he dragged his own concubines before the ranks, and butchered them with relentless fury; and 400,000 other females, all remarkable for their beauty, were massacred in a similar manner. After this horrible execution, he praised his soldiers to the skies, assuring them, that with such troops, he would be very soon able to expel the foreigners from China. The Mantchoos advanced, and came down rapidly upon the rebels; the tyrant could not believe that they were so near, and went out himself to reconnoitre; at the same time he threatened the messengers, who had brought him the bad news, with death, if he proved them false. One of these men, indignant at his menaces, followed the ferocious tyrant, pierced him with an arrow; and thus freed the world of a monster, who has, perhaps, no equal in history. Upon hearing that their leader had died, the rebels fled in great haste to Yunnan.

In order to reduce the disaffected provinces to subjection, the Tatars raised to the rank of princes three Chinese grandees, whom they sent to take upon themselves the administration.

A descendant of Confucius was entrusted with the government of Canton. Upon the approach of the Mantchoo troops, one city after the other surrendered. Instead of uniting all his forces to repel the enemy, the Chinese monarch threw five of his principal statesmen into prison, which alienated from him the hearts of many grandees. There were only two generals faithful to their sovereign, but they were left in so helpless a condition, that they immediately were taken prisoners. The illustrious descendant of Confucius endeavoured to prevail on them to come over voluntarily to the Tatar cause ; but they indignantly rejected his advice. The Tatar general himself, likewise exerted all his persuasive powers, but to no purpose ; he requested them, at least, to shave their head, in token of submission ; but as they obstinately refused to listen to any proposals, unworthy the acceptance of a loyal subject, his patience was finally exhausted, and he sentenced them to death. At their execution, a terrible tempest arose. The Tatar now began to repent his having put them to death, and bestowed upon them a splendid funeral. The city of Canton sustained a siege of eight months, supported by a fleet of Ching-kung's, who made dreadful havoc amongst the Tatars, who had already resolved to raise the siege, when a traitor betrayed the city, which was

given over to pillage and carnage, in 1650. They now turned their attention towards Woo-choo, which also capitulated. The unhappy Yung-leih found it no longer safe to remain in China, and fled to the king of Pegu, who treated him with great generosity for seven years, during all which time he was anxious to re-establish himself in his empire, but all his attempts proved abortive. The ladies belonging to his court were conducted to Peking, and lived there as prisoners. All the provinces of China were now subjugated, there only remained the undaunted Ching-ching-kung, who with his fleet braved the power of the whole Tatar force. He is the famous Coxinga, called by his countrymen, the Fuh-keën people, Kok-sing. He made a descent upon the island Aming, in order to attack Hae-ching-heën ; a large force of Tatars immediately hastened to the assistance of the place ; Ching-ching-kung received them under the fire of a well directed battery, and the Tatars fled in great consternation. If the Ming dynasty had made better use of the cannon and musketry, which the Europeans had procured for them, the Tatars would never have advanced to Peking. But, too proud to adopt the arms of distant barbarians, they only made occasional use of them ; and the Tatars, profiting by their bigotry, turned their own arms upon themselves.

The Tatars terror-struck, endeavoured to retrieve their losses, and were partly successful; but Ching-ching-kung retreated in such good order, that they were never able to do him any great injury, and plundering the whole coast, retired with the rich booty to his fleet. To strike a panic into the Tatar army, he took the island Tsung-ming, and sailing up the Yangtsze-këang with a squadron of 800 ships, laid siege to Nanking. This city being ill-provided for a siege, and the inhabitants disaffected to the Tatars, Ching-ching-kung therefore considered it an easy matter to carry the place, and neglected to take the necessary precaution for carrying on a close siege. When, during the night, all the soldiers were drowned in sleep, after having drank very freely, the Tatars made a sally, compelled them to raise the siege, and drove them with considerable slaughter back to their fleet, 1657.

The celebrated Woo-san-kwei, was the governor of Yun-nan and Kwei-chow, which he had received from the Mantchoo emperor, under the name of a principality. A rebellion had been organised in Kwei-chow, and Yung-leih was called to take possession of the province; but he was intercepted by the treacherous Woo-san-kwei, who strangled the unhappy emperor, and dispersed his small army.

When Ching-ching-kung received the report of the death of the emperor, he was much dejected, attacked a Tatar fleet, sunk several of their vessels, and cut off the ears and noses of 4000 Mantchoos, whom he sent afterwards on shore, to retaliate for the cruelty the Tatars had committed. This created a general horror, and it is said, that these wretched victims of his revenge were all put to death, in order to obliterate the disgrace reflected upon the Mantchoo nation. He then attacked Formosa, and took it from the Dutch. Here he erected his headquarters, for he could form no settlement on the main, where the Tatars greatly embarrassed him.

Shun-che was still a lad, when his uncle, Ama-wang, died, 1651. Under the government of so great a prince, the troubles, which had hitherto agitated the country, gradually ceased. The brother of Ama-wang, insisted upon becoming the guardian of the young prince; but the ministers refused to acknowledge him in that capacity, and Shun-che took upon himself the government of the state. He is said to have been a wise emperor; if this be true, his good qualities must have been negative, for we hear of no great or good action which he performed. Anxious to promote merit, he instituted the strictest examinations, and as thirty-six literati

had been found to have bought their rank with money, he sentenced them to death, whilst those who could not answer the questions, put to them during the examinations, were banished into Tatar. It is very evident, that the Tatars greatly profited by the sciences of the Chinese, but the first emperors of the Mantchoo race were not so great bigots as to despise the knowledge of foreigners. To gain by the improvements of foreign science, Shun-che courted the friendship of a German jesuit,—Adam Schaal, and was humble enough to become his pupil. We are persuaded that many of the wise regulations, which gave stability to the Tatar government, emanated from this man, who was in fact the prime minister of China, though nominally only president of the tribunal of mathematics.

In 1656, a Russian embassy arrived, but as the envoy refused to perform the nine prostrations, and did not stoop to represent the Czar as an humble vassal of the celestial empire, he was sent back without having received an audience; otherwise he was treated very respectfully.

Towards the latter end of his life, Shun-che conceived an illicit passion for the lady of a Tatar lord. As her husband remonstrated with his faithless wife, and she again complained to the emperor, Shun-she summoned the lord be-

fore him, and gave him a blow ; which so irritated his mind, that he died, very soon afterwards, broken-hearted.

Shun-che did not long enjoy the dignity of an emperor ; he died in 1661, leaving the throne to his son, Kang-he. Shun-che received, in the hall of the ancestors, the name of Shee-tsoo-chang-wang-te.

Immediately after Shun-che's death, the mandarins convoked a council, and appointed a regency, consisting of four members, chosen from amongst themselves, who had to superintend all the affairs of state, during the minority of the young emperor. There now prevailed a general peace over the country, and the Tatars began to rest from their conquests. Notwithstanding all their endeavours to adopt the manners of a civilized nation, there was still something rough in their exterior, which had not yet been entirely smoothed. The European ambassadors, who at that time visited the court at Peking, described them as barbarians ; but it reflects great credit upon the Mantchoo princes, that they themselves were not only far above their countrymen, but also superior to the Chinese.

One of the first acts of the regency was, the expulsion of the numerous eunuchs from the palace, and passing a law, that no eunuch should

ever be employed, as an officer of state. Indignant at the continual ravages of the pirate Ching-ching-kung, and his son, the council, to remedy this evil, resolved to order all the inhabitants of the coast, to withdraw into the interior of the provinces, under pain of death;—a cruel and absurd law. What must have been the power of the celestial empire, when all the heroes, who had subjugated China, were not able to subdue one pirate? What the stupidity of the council, if they had no other means to repress piracy, than by ruining the trade, destroying the emporiums, cities, and villages on the coast, and sending many millions of peaceful, industrious, and highly necessary subjects, to starve in an already exhausted country?

Kang-he, though a youth, saw very soon that the regents did not understand the art of ruling; he had seen that the Europeans, then indispensably necessary to a rising dynasty, were thrown into prison. However, as Soni, the first regent, was dead, he ascended the throne himself. His first public act was to institute a severe examination into the conduct of the three remaining regents, who were all found guilty, and sentenced to be cut to pieces, to expiate for their horrible crimes; even their families not excepted. Such was the law of the autocrat, who was otherwise a just prince, but

often too much attached to antiquated customs, and descended from a ferocious tribe. He restored the missionaries to their former rank, and even entered with some of them into a greater intimacy. The great emperor,—and he is in this respect greater than Peter the Great,—condescended, though Heaven's son, to become a humble disciple of the barbarians. Let us not ascribe too much to the intriguing spirit of the Jesuits: his thirst for learning was unquenchable; he rather chose to be blamed by his own subjects, than to be deficient in the arts and sciences, which enabled him to rule well. A haughty Chinese, who thought himself the first astronomer, accused Schaaf of having committed errors in the calendar. The emperor examined the matter impartially, though the accusation was against his beloved tutor, and he very soon discovered that the pretended sage did not understand the first principles of mathematics and astronomy. He was now not only made the jest of all his fellow-labourers, but, in addition, also very severely punished.

Woo-san-kwei, after the murder of his sovereign, lived quietly in possession of Yun-nan. Though he was already at an advanced age, the emperor still entrusted him, and had also perhaps reason to do so; he therefore invited him to the capital. Woo-san-kwei answered: "I

am aware of the snare you lay for me, and if I come, it will be at the head of some myriads." His son, who was a hostage at Peking, concerted at the same time a conspiracy, in which a great many Chinese slaves (people who had nothing to lose) joined, with all their heart and soul. The time appointed for the execution of this conspiracy was to be on the new year's day, when all the mandarins and grandees had to repair to the imperial palace, where they were, whether Mantchoos or Chinese, to be immediately slaughtered. But a plot known to so many was soon discovered. The emperor, seeing that such immense numbers of Chinese were implicated, published a general amnesty, from which only the sons of Woo-san-kwei were excluded, who suffered a most ignominious death. But as soon as Woo-san-kwei had set up the standard of rebellion, his army grew from day to day, and the kings of Tae-wan, Fuh-keën, and Canton also took up arms; whilst a large Mongol army was preparing in the north to invade China. Any other prince would have lost courage, but Kang-he only developed his talents in such an emergency. He himself marched against the Mongol chief who had declared war against him, and compelled the rebel to enter into a treaty, advantageous to China. Whilst the kings of Fuh-keën and

Tae-wan were very much incensed at one another, each refusing to acknowledge his rival as his superior, they consumed each other's strength; and when their army was scattered, the Tatars entered, were received as friends, and kept an undisputed sway over the province. The king of Canton also sued for peace. But there was another more formidable enemy—Kal-dan, khan of the Eleuths, who had declared war against the Kalkas, a tribe of Mongols, friendly to China. However, before he opened the war, he sent a scout to the capital, under the mask of an ambassador plenipotentiary, in order to discover the condition of the country.

Woo-san-kwei saw too late that all his efforts were in vain. His faithless allies were within a short time subdued, and he himself was forced to retire to Sze-chuen province. Yet the Tatars did not dare to pursue him thither. Finally, he was obliged to retreat to Yun-nan, where he shortly afterwards died, 1679.

Kal-dan, the khan of the Eleuths, was an unruly prince. Constantly engaged in quarrels with his neighbours, eager for conquest, he stirred up many feuds; but it would be tedious to relate his exploits, the interference of the Chinese court, the frequent embassies, &c.

A great earthquake at Peking laid a part of the city in ruins. No less than 400,000 inhabi-

tants lost their lives in this general destruction ; and the emperor, his family, and the whole court, had for several days to camp in the open field, till the danger had passed over.

It is matter of astonishment, that so enlightened a prince should have prohibited foreign commerce. But notwithstanding his strict orders, the prince of Canton permitted the trade with Europeans, and thereby enriched himself, which highly irritated the emperor, who, no doubt, believed that this prince would very soon revolt against him. He therefore sent him a silken cord ; the Tatar troops were drawn out, the prince led forth, took the cord, and without any emotion strangled himself. A hundred officers of the first rank, who had been in his confidence, suffered with him a similar death. Almost at the same time, a son of Woo-san-kwei, the last surviving heir of that house, being pursued very hard by the Tatars, hung himself ; and thus rebellion was extinguished. The irritated Tatars entered Yan-nan-foo, and to revenge themselves upon Woo-san-kwei, their benefactor, to whom they owed the empire, before whom they trembled when he was alive, they disinterred his bones, burnt them, and scattered the ashes to the wind ; — a noble revenge !

The following year, 1681, the prince of Fuhkeën

was accused of cruelty towards his subjects ; he could not pardon his officers who upbraided him with having fomented a rebellion against the emperor ; Kang-he therefore summoned him to Peking, where he was cut to pieces, and his flesh thrown upon the field to be devoured by vultures and wolves. Canton, as well as Fuh-keën, was now ruled by viceroys or governors, who were sent from Peking, entirely under the control of the court.

Some of the actions of Kang-he are highly to be disapproved. He treated with relentless cruelty a fallen foe ; but he was a Tatar, and we must make allowances for the prejudices he had imbibed from his earliest youth. But amidst the cares of governing so extensive an empire, he cultivated the sciences. When exhausted with hard labour during the day, he sat down in the evening to solve, with the Jesuits, the problems of Euclid, and to make himself acquainted with the arts and sciences of Europe. He made so great a progress in mathematics, that he was enabled to publish a treatise upon geometry in the Mantchoo language. At the same time his temper softened with his years ; constant occupation kept him from frivolous amusements and the effeminacy of the harem ; his mind grew vigorous, and his natural good understanding was considerably improved.

Formosa was still independent of China. Ching-ke-san, the successor of Ching-ching-kung, refused obstinately to submit on any terms. The viceroy sent from Peking, a Chinese grandee of the name of Yaou, was a subtle and insinuating man. As soon as he had taken possession of the government of Fuh-keën, he published a general amnesty to all Formosean rebels who wished to return to their homes; and many obeyed the summons, and were, on their arrival in Fuh-keën very kindly treated. Elated with success, Yaou fitted out a fleet, which sailed for the Pescadores, where the imperial forces already made sure of victory, but they were so warmly received by the Dutch cannon in possession of the rebels, that their valour considerably cooled; yet after great loss, they finally rendered themselves master of these islands. Ching-ke-san, perceiving the approaching danger, did not wait the arrival of the Chinese fleet, but addressed a humble petition to the emperor, wherein he pledged himself to surrender the whole island to his imperial majesty. "Now that I see," he says, "your majesty like the rising sun, whose light as soon as it appears on the horizon, spreads itself in an instant over the whole earth, and dispels in a moment the slender mists which it meets on the surface of the earth; how dare I

think of anything else but applying myself to my perfection, which I, a foreigner, consider as the only means of arriving to contentment. My heart is entirely devoted to you; how durst I then undertake anything against your majesty? To confirm with an oath all that I say before your majesty,—May I never see the light of the sun, if these are not the sentiments of my heart?"

Upon the receipt of this petition, the emperor ordered him to come to Peking. Ching-ke-san trembled at this order, for he well remembered the direful lot of the prince of Fuh-keën; but all evasions were to no purpose; he found himself forsaken by all his friends, and arrived in 1683 at the court. Kang-he however deviated from his general course, and treated him with the greatest clemency, conferring upon him the title of count, and assigning a considerable salary for the maintenance of himself and his family. Formosa was thus joined to China, and has proved a valuable possession. The island itself is extremely fertile, and produces abundance of rice to supply the Fuh-keën provinces, which, without this granary, would very soon suffer want and starvation.

A few years afterwards the peace with Russia was concluded. The emperor had now time to turn his attention towards the Eleuths and

Kalkas, who had long disturbed the peace of the empire. He perceived, too late, that the way of communication which he hitherto adopted, proved ineffectual: he therefore collected a large army, passed the great wall, and pounced upon them with a rapidity of which the hardy and crafty Eleuths were not aware. We refrain from entering into the particulars of this war. The Kaldan of the Eleuths was an ambitious, intriguing man; the Kalkas, his neighbours, were weak and cowardly; he was therefore very anxious to find a handle in order to make war upon them. At the same time he showed a decided aversion against the doctrines of Shamanism, which greatly shocked the Mongol devout votaries. The Dalai Lama had interfered as pacificator; the Kaldan showed his readiness to treat of peace, but only until he should have gained sufficient strength to fall upon his enemies. But before he could undertake anything of importance, the Chinese army, with their Mongol auxiliaries, was already in the field. The march of Kang-he through the desert, which is minutely described by the Jesuits, who accompanied him, reflects great credit upon him as a general. Whilst engaged in so great an enterprise, the emperor did not forget his studies; his European instructors were constantly about him, and he even tried

mathematical instruments, which had been sent to him as presents. But at the same time he courted the Lamas, his spiritual guides, to whom he showed more respect than became a rational being. 1691.

The Kaldan had now made a nominal submission, at which the emperor and all the grantees greatly rejoiced ; but being an unruly spirit, he contrived new plots to disturb the peace of the Mongols. In order to obtain a strong party, he became a Mohammedan ; for he was sure that the Tatars, who professed that creed, would support him against the idolaters. To weaken the party of his enemies, he sowed dissension amongst the various sects, and irritated their minds against each other. All these circumstances made the emperor resolve to send two armies against that restless chief. He first gave a splendid feast, to which all the general officers of the expedition were invited ; all the generals bowed before the throne ; and the emperor, after having commended his righteous cause to Heaven and his ancestors, marched forth at the head of his numerous army, 1696. When the imperial forces came in sight of the enemy, near the river Toola, the generals began to tremble ; for they had heard that their enemies were very numerous. The emperor upbraided them with their cowardice : “ I have,” he said, “ pleaded

our great cause with Heaven, earth, and the ancestors : I am come to revenge myself ; how do I hear a speech so unworthy a great officer ?” When the Kaldan heard of the approach of the imperial troops, which had greatly suffered from want of provisions, they fled in great haste. The emperor followed them at the head of 12,000 cavalry ; one of his generals obtained a victory over the troops of the Kaldan ; and thus the relentless foe was effectually humbled. The Kaldan sent an envoy to tender again his submission, and to confess his faults ; but this had been done so often, that it now appeared a mere mockery. A son of the Kaldan had been taken prisoner ; and he himself the cause of so much trouble, died in 1697. He had a strong party in Tibet, who, supported by Tipa, a Tibetan grandee, gave rise to great troubles. However, peace was gradually established ; and all the rebel princes acknowledged themselves the humble vassals of the celestial empire ; so that the power and influence of the Chinese were greatly increased by their intestine wars.

Whilst engaged in foreign conquests, Kang-he did not neglect the administration of the empire. All important dispatches were sent to him ; he decided in all difficult cases, and investigated matters with uncommon minuteness. The great doctors of the empire, not giving any ocular

proofs of their learning, he caused them to be examined, and degraded: those who were found incompetent in their examination, he expelled the Han-lin college. However, all his wishes to give to Chinese literature a new turn were frustrated. He deeply grieved that there was, in the genius of the people, no creative power: whilst the Europeans made him daily acquainted with the new inventions of their own country, the Chinese literati trod in the footsteps of their ancestors, and produced nothing new. Their works were far inferior to the writers of the Han and Ming dynasty; but neither reward nor punishment, so well bestowed by Kang-he, could call forth genius. Kang-he published the first complete dictionary of the Chinese language; a heavy compilation, but, considering the talent of the compilers, tolerably well executed. The Mantchoo Tatars had now spread over a great part of China, either as soldiers or civilians of high rank; and Kang-he, fearing lest his native language might become extinct amongst them, published a Mantchoo dictionary, established colleges and schools, and greatly encouraged the study of the language. To render himself popular, he had repeatedly made tours through the northern provinces, where he redressed the grievances of the people, looked into the provincial administration, examined the records, &c.,

and showed himself a father to the nation which his ancestors had conquered. But he never crossed the Yong-tsze-keang; and none of his successors has ever ventured farther south. In order to ascertain the extent of the provinces, and the situation of cities, he had the whole surveyed by Europeans with great accuracy; and the maps, which are still extant, are not inferior to the best which have been made by Europeans in the eighteenth century. The Chinese, who made some in imitation, have greatly disfigured them; for though they drew the degrees of latitude and longitude, they did it in such a manner as to set all geometrical rules at defiance.

In 1709, he returned from Tatar, whither he frequently travelled, in order to hunt, and visit the tombs of his ancestors. At his return to the capital, the heir of the crown, being accused of ambitious views upon the throne, was loaded with fetters, and sent to prison to expiate his offence. It was the wish of the eldest son of the emperor to ruin his brother, that he himself might become emperor; and, therefore, he had organised a conspiracy against him. The emperor was greatly dejected on account of these domestic troubles, and suffered under a strong palpitation of the heart. Drowned in melancholy, he summoned the hereditary prince, load-

ed with chains, before him. This heart-rending sight touched his paternal affection; he wept bitterly, and patiently attended to the words which the prince uttered in his defence. He was again liberated, and reinstated in all the honours which he had before held; while his eldest son was punished with perpetual imprisonment; all the ministers, who had favoured his plans, were dismissed from office; and his accomplices, some Lamas of great rank, punished with a cruel death. However, the malady of the emperor increased; the Chinese physicians gave him up; when some Jesuits, who had once restored him from a violent ague, administered an effectual remedy, and he began again to recover.

In 1721, Kang-he celebrated the anniversary of a reign of sixty years. Few monarchs had sat so long upon the throne of China, or employed their time so well in giving peace to the whole nation, and improving every branch of government. The mandarins rendered to him divine honours, and the rejoicings of the nation were general. He was agreeably surprised, when he received a report from his generals of the entire destruction of the Eleuths, who had ravaged Tibet, plundered the treasury of the Dalai Lama, and laid the country waste. From this moment, Tibet ceased to be an independent state; and shared in the fate of the surrounding

Tatar chiefs, who had tendered their territories to their great liege lord, the emperor of China.

Kang-he had spent the summer of 1722 in Mantchoo Tatary. On his return, a cold blast of a northerly wind threw him upon the sick bed, from whence he never rose. He died December the 20th. A few days before his death, he had made his testament, in virtue of which his fourth son, Yung-ching, was created his successor.

He was without doubt, next to Kublai, the greatest prince who ever sat upon the Chinese throne. Equally able in the cabinet, and at the head of an army, he quelled rebellions, vanquished enemies, consolidated the foundation of the empire, increased the finances, and diminished the taxes. He revived the empire, distracted by rebellion, impoverished by a long and ruinous war; when he died, peace and tranquillity pervaded all the provinces, and the unruly barbarians on the frontiers paid homage to the celestial empire. None but a master spirit could have effected so great a work. He had a tact for choosing proper persons for the administration of affairs; his generals, his ministers, his domestics, were all men worthy of the high trust reposed in them. Without being proud at his own great attainments, he profited by the advice of others; and though it never has

been acknowledged, many good regulations emanated from the Jesuits, his sincere friends and instructors. He had made himself acquainted with the state of Europe, and found much to praise, but also much to blame. From thence he drew his artists and mathematicians. The Jesuits, who were unwearied in advancing his own interests, wrote complete and interesting treatises upon divers sciences in Mantchoo, as well as Chinese. Their works upon anatomy, all the branches of medical science, physics, philosophy, &c., are still extant, but are no more read. The memoirs of the academy of sciences were translated by them into Mantchoo; a laboratory erected at Peking, and the Observatory excellently regulated and improved. All these innovations ceased with his death. He was above the prejudices of the nation he ruled, and slighted the murmurs which were repeatedly uttered by those, who considered every improvement a dangerous innovation, and stupidity and bigotry the height of wisdom. Had not obstacles which he had to encounter, been too great, he would have been another Peter the Great to his country. He received the name of Shing-tsoo-shing-hwang-te in the temple of ancestors.

Kang-he had at first destined his fourteenth son for his successor. But he was absent in

Tatary, where he died, and fearing lest troubles might arise before he could reach the capital, he chose Yung-ching. As soon as the new emperor had ascended the throne, he recalled his brother by a stratagem, and sent him to guard the tomb of his father. When the time of mourning had expired, he was sent to Chang-chun-yuen, and strictly guarded. Sessake, the ninth son of Kang-he was heavily fined, and sent into exile.

One of the first acts of Yung-ching, was the putting a stop to improvement by banishing the missionaries, who had spread themselves throughout the provinces of the Chinese empire. He only retained a few individuals at court, with whose services he could not dispense. He was led to taking such a step, which inflicted incalculable mischief, by a representation made by the viceroy of Fuh-keën against Christianity. Yung-ching himself was an enemy to enlightened principles ; he was acquainted with the intriguing spirit of the Jesuits, he had imbibed an inveterate hatred against Christianity, and saw with deep regret, that some members of the imperial family had become converts. It was therefore no wonder, that he gladly subscribed to a proposition to banish Christianity, and its teachers for ever from China. Though this imprudent measure reflects little credit upon

his sagacity, he was otherwise a prince who loved his subjects. His anxiety for their welfare was unwearied, all his time was devoted to improve their circumstances, and to render them happy. He acted with paternal tenderness towards his suffering subjects in the Pih-chi-le, Shan-tung and Honan provinces, who were afflicted during the year 1725, with great dearth. Peking had a considerable share in these sufferings; but Yung-ching effectually alleviated them. The edicts issued on this occasion breathe an excellent spirit. To free himself from all guilt of being the cause of so great a calamity, he released and alleviated the sufferings of prisoners, who were immured in the dungeon. It had been an ancient custom, that persons remarkable for their virtue were invited to a feast given by the emperor. This laudable custom, which had fallen into disuse was revived by Yung-ching. Though his intentions were perhaps sincere, the mandarins only invited their favourites, men of depraved character, who seconded their views. He promised rewards to young widows, who refused to marry again. He encouraged agriculture, by promising rewards to the diligent labourer. It was a principal object of all his cares, that mandarins, who had shown their ability in the inferior stations, should be promoted to higher rank. An order was there-

fore issued, that all the superior mandarins in the provinces should keep a memorandum of those officers, who had signalized themselves by their zeal for the public weal; but this regulation became a source of extensive patronage, and gave the higher mandarins an uncontrolled influence over all the provincial officers.

Yung-ching promoted his own happiness by marrying a Tatar princess, a clever woman, who was desirous of imitating her husband by displaying her benevolence towards her own sex. She therefore ordered, that a certain portion of rice and cotton cloth should be given to all women throughout the empire, who had passed the seventieth year of their age. This liberality fell very hard upon the provincial treasure, for the number of old women was enormous.

During the year 1725, another famine afflicted the empire, and Yung-ching, according to old established laws, went to supplicate the azure heavens, that they might avert the calamity, whilst he brought a rich sacrifice to mother earth, to be in future more productive.

It is extraordinary, that a prince like Yung-ching, who always inculcated benevolence, could persecute with relentless cruelty, a branch of his own family, of which Sounou, a man of stern honesty, was the head. He disgraced, plundered, and persecuted them, without ever being

able to prove one alleged offence. However, the emperors have always glossed over their own crimes by fine words ; their edicts breathe benevolence, but their actions are in direct opposition to their words.

By his paternal care, the wants of an overgrowing population in Yunnan province were relieved, he encouraged the poor, half-starving people to cultivate the new lands on the frontier, and bestowed honours upon those, who had shown themselves the most zealous in the work. In the year 1730, a great earthquake in Pi-chile did incalculable harm to the capital. The emperor was walking in the garden, when it happened ; he threw himself upon the ground, and turned his eyes and hands in this supplicating posture towards heaven. He then distributed immense sums to repair the damage done.

He died at Yuen-ming-yuen, and received the ancestral name, She-tsung-hëen-hwang-te. 1735. No tears were shed, no grandee lamented. Young Ching had many good qualities, but he was not always sincere in his profession of transfusing general benevolence. He often said, in his edicts, that he had humbled himself before Heaven, by fasting and prayer, but as this is the established law of the empire, these words must always be inserted in the imperial edicts, whether the fact be so or not. It

is remarkable, that during his whole reign, the empire was at peace, no rebellion existed, no commotions took place in any part. The following reign was more stormy, when the war-like Keën-lung ascended the throne. He was the eldest of Yung-ching's illegitimate children; for the empress had died without issue; and when called to the throne, he was unacquainted with the world, having spent his youth in study, and unexpectedly come to power. He declared a general amnesty, recalled the exiles from their banishment, and principally requested, that all the kindred of Yung-ching, who had been so cruelly treated, might be recalled. This edict gave general joy at Peking, where many silent tears had been shed for these unhappy princes. But, when they were recalled, they were ruined, their estates had been confiscated, and they were exposed to the most abject poverty. The pension which the princes of the lateral imperial branch received, amounted to no more than three taëls per month, and a sufficient quantity of rice.

The Chinese empire was now very extensive; all the provinces were under the sway of the Tatars; and Keën-lung, desirous of signalling himself as a martial hero, was glad to find an opportunity. Yung-ching had adopted the wisest policy towards the Eleuths, keeping an

army of observation at the Altai mountains; and, had Keën-lung followed up the same mode of proceeding, he would have avoided a great effusion of blood. All the chiefs of the Kalmuks had acknowledged the supremacy of China, except Dawatsi, who wished to treat the emperor upon terms of equality, and had driven away his rival Amoorsana, who arrived at Peking, and stated his complaints. Keën-lung sent Amoorsana, at the head of a numerous army, to regain the throne of his ancestors; Ele was taken in 1755, Dawatsi expelled, and the empire restored to Amoorsana. A Musulman chief delivered Dawatsi up to the emperor, who received him with great honour at Peking, where he died. Amoorsana held, only nominally, the administration of the country, the Chinese had engrossed the whole government, and acted with sovereign power. As soon, however, as the great army of the Chinese was withdrawn, Amoorsana stood up against the oppressors of his country, and expelled them. The imperial council at Peking, dissuaded the emperor from undertaking any thing against the unruly Eleuths, but Keën-lung followed the bent of his own mind, and sent a large army into their country. Amoorsana fled at their approach; the Chinese carried on a war of extirpation against the defenceless Kalmuks, of whom more than a million are said to

have fallen under their sabres. The cause of this cruelty was, that after the capital Ele was retaken, the Chinese troops gave themselves over to a state of security, and the revengeful Kalmuks cut off all supplies of provisions, and harassed the imperial forces in such a manner, that the whole army would have been annihilated, if new forces had not arrived for their support. Amoursana fled to the Kirghiz Kaizaks; but not thinking himself safe amongst them, he went over to the Russians. The war terminated in 1757, and the Kirghiz Kaizaks, the Booroots, and Khokards acknowledged the emperor of China their liege lord. Their territories constitute a part of the present district of Ele.

Keën-lung had reinstated two Mohammedan princes, who reigned as the vassals of the king of Dzoongar, or Soungaria, in Little Bukharia. As soon as they arrived in their native country, they set up the standard of rebellion, for they were afraid, lest the Chinese might treat them in the same manner, as they had done the Kalmucks; but in an engagement which took place near Koocharh, the Bukharians, to the number of 50,000 men, were routed. However these accounts are from the Chinese, who, being habitual liars, generally magnify their exploits, and talk of battles which were never

fought, and of victories gained, when in fact they were defeated. The general, after this signal victory, was recalled to Peking, and put to death. Another general arrived, and was surrounded by the Bukharians ; however he succeeded in extricating himself, and the Bukharians shut themselves up in Yarkend, which speedily surrendered to the victors, whilst another Chinese army took possession of Kashgar. The two rebel princes were withdrawing towards India, but their army was cut to pieces by the Chinese troops. One of them died as the consequence of a wound he received, the other fell into the hands of the sultan of Badakshan, who sent his head as a present to the emperor of China. A part of this territory was added to the Kansuh province, the other portion constitutes, at present, the territory of the eight Mohammedan cities.

Keën-lung received with the most lively sensation of joy, the tidings of the victory. The generals were magnificently treated, and received permission to ride up into the court of the palace ; but two grandees, Yarnkhan and Hanninga, were sentenced to death for their neglect of military duty ; and the family of a poltroon was sold as slaves, to give a warning to cowards. Chouhede, a Mantchoo Tatar of the highest rank, who had permitted a detachment of enemies to

pass him unmolested, was sentenced to death ; but reprieved by a peculiar concurrence of circumstances. After these executions the festivities commenced, and the emperor himself, went in a procession to render the pageantry more solemn.

A new war broke out on the frontiers of Ava and Yunnan. The Chinese ascribe the cause of this to the frequent inroads of the Birmahs upon their territory ; but they are never sparing of falsehood to throw the guilt upon others ; perhaps both were wrong, and Keën-lung was pleased to find an excuse for pushing his conquests further. A numerous army of Chinese and Mantchoos invaded Birmah in 1767. The Birmahs permitted them to advance, only annoying them by slight skirmishes, until they could no more retreat ; they then attacked them vigorously, slew a great number, and took many thousand captives, whom they naturalized in their own country. Only a few of the invincible soldiers returned to give an account of their total defeat.

However, Keën-lung was not dismayed. Another army, under the celebrated Akwei, embarked upon the Kin-sha river, the name which the Yang-tsze-keang bears in Yunnan, and fell down the Irrawaddy, which joins the Kin-sha. Notwithstanding all the precautions of Akwei,

he could not prevent the destruction of his soldiers by the jungle fever, which swept away a great many, and he was glad to retreat unmolested, after having concluded a treaty with the king of Birmah, who sent an embassy to Peking to sign the peace. The Chinese lost their influence over the tribes on the frontiers, and some rich gold and silver mines. Though this disaster filled the breast of Keën-lung with sorrow; another event caused him much joy: the Tourgouths, a tribe of the Kalmuks, who had withdrawn themselves from the Russian territories, returned to their ancient abodes in the Ele district; and Keën-lung received their princes with great pomp at Je-ho, despising the menaces of the Russians, who reclaimed their subjects, in 1770.

His attention was soon drawn into another direction, to events of which we must give an outline from the commencement. In a valley, formed by two branches of the Yang-tsze-keang, in the province of Sze-chuen, there lived from time immemorial, a few Tibetan tribes, in stone houses, so as to form as many forts as there were cities and villages. They had submitted to the Ming, and afterwards tendered their homage to the Mantchoos. One of the native chiefs usurped the territory of another, the Chinese government sent an army to interfere, but were re-

pulsed with great loss. This defeat forced the provincial government to dispatch an army of 30,000 soldiers, in order, if possible, to subdue the rebels, but they lost themselves in this mountainous country, and were constantly harassed by the mountaineers, who killed all the prisoners they made. This unhappy campaign obliged the emperor to send his favourite, Nuh-tsin to prosecute the war. He was a proud, overweening man, who despised the advice of experienced generals, and was compelled to retreat as fast as he had entered the territory. Both his predecessor and himself were beheaded, for not having obeyed the orders of the emperor, who had enjoined them to conquer, but the haughty son of Heaven was now obliged to sue for peace, and sent his brother-in-law, Too-hang, who succeeded in his negotiations. As soon as the Tibetians saw that their enemy was weak, they themselves proved the aggressors, and invaded the Chinese territory, 1758. The war was carried on with various success, the Chinese troops were often beaten, until the celebrated general, Akwei, arrived in 1772, who sent the leader of the rebels, Tse-wang, as a prisoner to Peking, and took several of their fortresses after a long-protracted siege. Sonan, one of the leaders of the rebels, obstinately refused all terms to surrender himself and his fortress,

but was taken prisoner, with his whole family, and sent to Peking. He was treated on his way thither very courteously, and expected to find grace before the monarch; when on his entry in Peking, he and his family were loaded with chains, and brought before a court, composed of the grandees and the prime minister. Keën-lung, seated in state upon his throne, received the rebels, who were compelled to prostrate themselves before him. From thence he repaired to Jin-tae, the great palace, where the instruments of torture were prepared in the great hall; he seated himself upon the throne, to glut his eyes with the torments of these wretches. They were then led to the place of execution, and cut into a thousand pieces.

The cruel mode of punishment adopted by Keën-lung, his severity in punishing slight offences, procured him a great many enemies; and even the submissive Chinese murmured at his administration. A priest and a Shan-tung man, Wan-lung, had so secretly concerted a rebellion, that before any one was aware of it, 12,000 men took the city Show-chung-heën. He repulsed the forces sent against him, proclaimed himself emperor, and adopted the ensigns of the Ming dynasty. Instead of marching directly to Peking with a numerous army, the adventurer amused himself with plays and

trifles, until the imperial forces arrived, put his army to flight, and took the priest, Tan-wei, prisoner; whilst Wan-lung burnt himself in his own house. The emperor was present at the investigation which took place. Tan-wei, addressing him, said: "Prince, your good fortune is great; I had a thousand men prepared at Fih-ho, to seize you when hunting, but your fortune prevented it." Keën-lung had him, as well as his accomplices, cut in pieces. The poor Roman Catholics, though they had suffered greatly by this persecution, were suspected of having been abettors; but their enemies could give no satisfactory proofs.

Keën-lung himself never took the field like his grandfather. Notwithstanding his martial spirit, which led him to command the armies into the most distant parts of the empire, whilst he was quietly seated at Peking, he found time to promote literature, by collecting four large libraries of the most valuable books which were still extant. He also republished several works, which otherwise might have fallen into disuse. In addition to the rebellion already mentioned, the Pih-leën-keaou,—“sect of the Water-lily,”—which is now very numerous, stirred up commotions in Shan-se, and fought very bravely, till they were vanquished by overwhelming numbers. The leader, with his two wives, who

had both fought by the side of their husband, one bearing a black, the other a white standard, were found dead on the field of battle. Their heads were cut off, and exposed in cages to the populace. Keën-lung could not enjoy the delightful spectacle of seeing them hacked alive in pieces.

The Hwang-ho has always been an object of dread to the Chinese. Whenever the waters were swollen, the dykes broke through, and the country around was inundated. Akwei had now become prime minister; he had given a proof of his fidelity when a report was spread that Keën-lung was dead, and Keën-lung thought that he would prove equally faithful and strong in opposing the encroachments of the Yellow river, as he had shown himself in stopping the torrent of a rebellion. He therefore departed for the Hwang-ho, and was fully engaged in raising banks, when suddenly the news reached him that the Mohammedans in Kan-suh had invaded the neighbouring districts. Though they were immediately repulsed by a young Chinese officer, he was, in his turn, shut up, and would have perished, had not the expeditious Akwei hastened to his help. He arrived at this critical juncture, and destroyed the rebels. As this rebellion was owing to the grievous extortions exercised by the mandarins,

the emperor called the viceroy to an account; and he was sentenced to death; but his majesty was gracious, and substituted in his stead a former viceroy of Canton—a liberal exchange.

Keën-lung was addicted to Shamanism; whether from principle, or for political reasons, we cannot determine. He was very desirous of seeing the deified living statue of human nature, the Banchen Lama, who finally yielded to the emperor's entreaties, and came to Peking. Along the road, the greatest honours were paid him; the emperor received him at Fih-ho, with all magnificence imaginable; he humbled his pride, he forgot that he was emperor of China, in the presence of this Pope of Central Asia. But, to his great regret, this immortal being died of the most disgusting disease, a virulent sort of small-pox. His death gave rise to great troubles in Tibet, which ended in the final subjugation of the country by the Chinese.

Keën-lung imitated his father in visiting the provinces, and inquiring into the wrongs of the people. On one of his tours he visited Nanking, when he had already passed the age of seventy, and found the viceroy guilty of misrule. He therefore sent him to Peking, and in his summary way, had him executed. We should praise his justice, if he had not cut off so many heads unjustly; doubtless he was a

blood-thirsty Tatar, but his edicts, though sealed with blood, breathed a spirit of meekness worthy of a Titus. From these we form our ideas of the Chinese princes, and therefore we exclaim, how great a prince was Keën-lung!

The remnant of the ancient Turks, who had amalgamated with the Kalmuks and other Tatar tribes, lived in great numbers in that part of Bukharia which had been added to Kan-suh. They were divided into two hostile sects, the Red and White-caps, a designation derived from the respective colour of the turbans they wore. The White-caps accused the other party of having relaxed in the observance of the law of the Prophet; whilst they themselves professed to be strict followers of the Koran, and wished to force their countrymen to become equally zealous, which gave rise to feuds and bloodshed. The governor ordered them to abstain from quarrelling, and as they refused to obey, he exiled 10,000 of the refractory White-caps, who reluctantly left their homes, swearing vengeance against the Chinese. Having painted the injustice they had suffered in the most glowing colours, they engaged many of their Mohammedan brethren in Tangoot, and a prince errant, a descendant of those whom the Chinese had vanquished, to join their standards. At the same time they procured arms from Kan-

suh, whither they were still allowed to trade, and were ready to invade China with an army of 100,000 men. The Mohammedan prince, who was to become their leader, was on his way to join them with his army, when he was intercepted at Kashghar, by the Mohammedan Hakim Beg, who routed his army, and took the prince prisoner. Keën-lung ordered Hakim to send him to Peking; however, the Mohammedan had had so many proofs of the imperial compassion in treating prisoners of war, that he thought it more advisable to retain the prince with himself.

The great army, however, was not daunted by this untoward event; they marched forth into Kan-suh, cut to pieces a few Chinese detachments, and massacred every person who made the least resistance. As the governor had taken no precaution, they marched without finding any obstacle, as far as the capital of Shen-se, where they were informed that a Chinese army was advancing, and fearing lest their retreat might be cut off, they hastily returned to their strongholds, with an immense booty. Akwei arrived with a large army, and posted himself along the banks of a river opposite their fortress, seemingly spending his time in inactivity, but actually making preparations for a general attack. He cut off their water, and the

Mohammedans were resolved to kill their own families, in order to keep themselves alive with the small supply which remained, and then to fall furiously upon the enemy, and cut their way through. Akwei appeared before the fortress, and summoned it to surrender at discretion. As this was rejected with disdain, he took the city by storm, and killed every inmate, except the principal leaders, whom he sent to Fih-ho, that his imperial majesty might regale himself with having them chopped to pieces.

This compassionate emperor also gave instructions to kill every Mohammedan above the age of fifteen throughout the Kan-suh province, that they might expiate the crime of ingratitude; and his faithful servant Akwei duly executed these orders; but he ought to have invited his master to participate in the bloody feast, 1784.

The sword remained sheathed for a few years. An adventurer having usurped the crown of Cochin-China, the rightful heir implored Keën-lung to put him again upon the throne. A Chinese army marched accordingly into the country, and was at first successful, until a treaty had been agreed upon. But suddenly the Chinese army was surprised, and almost extirpated by the treacherous natives. Keën-lung did not think it prudent, having received a severe lesson from Birmah, to renew hostili-

ties. Tunkin and Annam were afterwards united, and asserted their independence under their legitimate prince.

The Chinese settlers in Formosa are naturally a very mutinous and independent race. They cannot brook the oppression of the mandarins, and revolted once under the reign of Kang-he, though this insurrection was very soon suppressed. They had groaned long under the paternal rod of the mandarins, when a cultivator of fallow ground was required to pay 8,000 taëls for lands which had not yet yielded any fruit. As he refused to comply, the mandarin sent him to prison; his clansmen rose and killed the mandarin. The viceroy of Fuhkeën immediately passed over to punish the offenders, but instead of searching for the murderers, he committed a number of innocent people to indiscriminate slaughter. Exasperated at this cruelty, the people rose *en masse*, massacred the Mantchoos, cut off their tails, and took possession of the principal cities. All the imperial armies which were sent to subdue them were cut to pieces, or died of sickness, to the amount of 100,000 men. The brother-in-law of the emperor finally put a stop to the rebellion by means of money, an effectual mode of fighting, and reported that he had cut the leader in pieces, who, however, lived far beyond his

reach amongst the mountains. A poor wretch, who bore the same name, suffered the punishment, 1788. This war drained the imperial and provincial treasures, and brought no new laurels to the diadem.

One of the chiefs of Tibet, on hearing of the death of Banchen Lama at Peking, had gone to Nepaul with an immense treasure. The Nepaulese, allured by rapine, invaded the country, took possession of Iashi Loombo, and carried off the gold tiles which covered the convent, together with all the golden vessels they found there. But the Banchen, and the Dalai Lamas implored the imperial protection against these freebooters. The emperor at first hesitated, for he had lately refused a similar demand made by the king of the Birmahs ; but when the affairs grew more serious, he sent an army of 70,000 men to chastise the Gorkhas. This army, commanded by his father-in-law, acted up to their instructions, penetrated into Nepaul, to within sixty miles of the British frontiers, and reduced the Gorkhas to submission. The stolen vessels were restored, and the Nepaulese acknowledged the supremacy, whilst Tibet became more dependant upon its generous protector, 1792.

Keën-lung had the pleasure, after a reign of sixty years, of seeing that two distant nations, the English and Dutch, arrived to congratulate

him upon his long and happy reign. He was highly flattered by such a compliment, behaved very graciously towards them, but granted them none of the desired privileges.

His latter days were embittered by a revolt of the Meaou-tsze, some tribes of aborigines, who inhabit Kwei-chow and the mountains on the borders of Sze-chuen and Hoonan. There are also great numbers in Canton and Kwang-se province. The general received orders to extirpate these treacherous barbarians, who are said to have rebelled because the mandarins had killed some of their chiefs. All attempts to subdue them proved in vain; there were constant reports of victories gained over the refractory rebels sent up to Peking, but the victorious generals were constrained to buy a peace from their vanquished foe. The Meaou-tsze have their strongholds in the mountains, and can very easily defend the passes which lead to them against any enemy. The Chinese troops were often taken by surprise, when they believed the enemy far distant; and when they again entered the mountains in large numbers, they saw no foe. The peace was concluded under Kea-king in 1797.

Twice did Keën-lung escape imminent danger. In the year 1788, he went, as was his custom, upon a hunting party to Mooran, situ-

ated to the north of Jeho, in Mantchoo Tatory. The rains had poured down in streams; the swollen rivers caused a general inundation, and with great difficulty he reached an eminence, where he was detained for a whole day without food, whilst other persons who had followed him found a watery grave.

An adventurer from Turkestan appeared on the frontiers of Mongolia, with the intention of proceeding to Mantchoo Tatory, to proclaim himself emperor. He pretended to be nearly related to the imperial family, and had some documents to prove his descent. Keën-lung was informed of his intention, and allowed him to proceed to Korga, where he was seized by a Chinese officer, of high rank, who took possession of his papers, and executed him.

When Keën-lung had reigned full sixty years, through the whole Chinese cycle, he abdicated the throne, in his eighty-fifth year, in favour of his fifth son, who adopted the title of Kea-king, and died three years afterwards, well stricken in years. Kaou-tsung-shun-hwang-te is his ancestral name.

In his application to business, he was unwearied: he examined into all matters, and directed all important affairs himself. But it is easier to be a general in the capital than on the field of battle. His relentless cruelty has left an inde-

lible stain upon his memory; but he was, occasionally, kind to his subjects, and visited the provinces in order to discover their grievances. He was both poet and prose writer, but not of the first order. His unjust persecution of the Christians, and of the European missionaries, does no honour to his name. It may be objected, that this was a sect dangerous to the welfare of the state; and that he was obliged to proceed with all vigour against these new sectarians, who had become so numerous as to be able to subvert the empire. We wish not to defend a religion which enjoins *auto da fés*, and has persecuted Christians of other denominations with relentless fury; but we desire to be impartial. It has never been proved that the Christians, in China, stood up in rebellion against the emperor, or joined the Europeans in their attempts upon China; but if they are a dangerous sect, the Buddhists, Taoists, and Mohammedans, are much more so: they all have revolted, and have fought against the state, and fully deserved expulsion—if it is true that every religion, dangerous to the state, ought to be extirpated.

Keën-lung always thought that he had a just cause, when he butchered whole tribes. After the defeat of the Kalmuks, he raised, at Ele, a stone tablet, upon which he wrote: "The tree

which Heaven plants, though man may fell it, cannot be unrooted: the tree which Heaven fells, though man may replant it, will never grow."

Kea-king had all the vices of his father, without his redeeming qualities. The embers of rebellion, which so long had lain smothered under the vigorous administration of Keën-lung, broke finally out in open flames. Kea-king showed little application to business himself; and therefore he saw, with the deepest regret, that the peace of the empire was disturbed. He had no capacity, was addicted to drunkenness and other vices, and was, besides, of a cruel disposition. Yet this was the same illustrious regent, whom Keën-lung had announced to Heaven and earth, and to his ancestors, who had been fully approved of by these three joint powers. Shall we consider words or actions? The brothers of Kea-king, who were ignorant of the will of Heaven, and thought themselves more entitled to wear the crown of China, and were born before him, fell under the suspicion of the cruel monarch. A conspiracy had been arranged, in 1803, which was however quelled before it broke out. Upon examination, it was found that both courtiers and relations, all of very high rank, were implicated in this conspiracy against his life. Kea-

king, therefore, wisely philosophises, in the account he gives of this event to the nation. He says the deposition of the assassin must be false; because it was quite impossible that those, whom he considered as the most faithful servants of the throne, could have rendered themselves guilty of participating in so shocking a crime. That an assassin must be considered like a mad dog, who makes his attack upon those he meets, but without drawing others to join with him in such a purpose. There is even a bird that eats its own parent, without being driven to it; and what accomplices could he find in so unnatural an act? Four officers are mentioned, who seized upon the assassin, and saved the emperor's life. They are highly praised for having saved their prince at the peril of their own lives; but, amongst all the numerous spectators, there came forth only six who took an interest in his safety. The emperor laments their indifference in assisting him at so critical a juncture. He finally concludes with the observation, that, notwithstanding his close attention to business, there may be still something wrong; and promises to improve the administration, and to endeavour to give no fresh cause for such dissatisfaction. "It is this indifference, and not the dagger of the assassin, that distresses me."

The criminal was sentenced to die a slow death; and his two sons were strangled, in consideration of their tender years.

At the head of this rebellion was a son of Ho-chung-tang, the former prime minister under Keën-lung, who was sentenced to lose his life for alleged crimes. But Kea-king stood in want of money; and, as the young prince was very rich, he deemed it advisable to sentence him to death, that he might obtain his property in a fair way.

He apparently began to show some earnest in reforming government, by giving people free admission to the court of justice. But these good regulations were only transitory; and as the supreme government was in the hands of worthless minions, it very soon deteriorated more than ever. Kea-king continued to live an effeminate life; and the rebellions were subdued by force of money, whilst the generals boasted of the splendid victories they had obtained. A certain sum was offered to all those who willingly surrendered. If they had been leaders, they might hope for a place in the army.

But nothing occasioned so much trouble to government as the pirates. Whole squadrons were fitted out under the eyes of the mandarins, and sent to sea to commit piracies. An experi-

enced admiral, at Canton, was deposed from his station, and a favourite entrusted with the command of the fleet. They had long cruised along the coast of Cochin-China, Canton, and in the channel of Formosa, and taken an immense number of junks; when the imperial fleet, under the command of a new admiral, found them at anchor in a bay near Canton. As soon as they saw a superior force arrayed against them, they made proposals of peace, and promised to surrender. Wan, the old commander, advised the Chinese admiral to reject their terms, and to destroy their vessels. He, however, thought himself wiser, and granted them their desire. Both the fleets weighed anchor, and the pirates escaped. Every day they became bolder, and defied government; levied a regular tax upon the merchant vessels, and respected the licence granted by their commander; but every junk, without a pass, was a legal prize. In their depredatory excursions they often laid whole villages waste, and carried away men and women, who had again to be redeemed by a heavy sum of money.

Their principal strongholds were in Hainan, Formosa, and Tunkin; they had regular agents at Canton, and several Amuy merchants fitted out vessels, and provided them with ammunitions. A squadron of 40 imperial junks, was

sent out against them, of which only twelve escaped, the others were taken. Chinese accounts state, that their whole number amounted to 70,000, who navigated 800 large, and 1000 small ones, which seems greatly to be overrated. They were divided into six large squadrons, under different flags; the red, the yellow, the green, the blue, the black, the white. Ching-yih, their commander, wished to imitate Ching-ching-kung, who had fought in order to drive the Tatars out of China; but he was drowned, and his wife assumed the command; whilst she created Paou, a poor fisher boy, whom her husband had picked up, her lieutenant. She promulgated a code of laws, by which good order, and fair treatment of each other was enforced. The people on shore were to be paid for their provisions and ammunitions, and the severest discipline introduced amongst these lawless hordes.

A squadron, consisting of fifteen junks, was dispatched against them, and likewise taken; the commanding mandarin not meeting with death from the hands of the pirates, committed suicide. Another fleet sent out against them, set all sail to come up, but when the mandarin perceived the great number of vessels he was anxious to escape. The pirates followed, and a calm ensuing, they jumped into the sea,

boarded the mandarin's junks, and took six of them.

Their daring valour, however, was at least once disappointed: an imperial fleet of 100 sail, attacked them, set fire to their sails, and burned at their rudders. The pirates were thrown into confusion, two hundred were taken prisoners, and several junks captured. A pirate's wife defended herself desperately, in a boat, and wounded several soldiers, but on being wounded by a matchlock ball, she fell back, and was taken prisoner. This disgrace they wiped off, by a total defeat of the imperial fleet, in the bay of Kwang-chow, where Ching-yih's widow herself commanded. A squadron, commanded by admiral Kwei, was likewise either destroyed or captured, so that there remained no other alternative to the Chinese government, but the cutting off of all supplies. All vessels, large as well as small, were detained in the harbours, and no communication allowed. But this measure was productive of another evil; for the pirates saw themselves obliged to ascend the rivers, and to plunder along the banks.

Some Englishmen were captured, and detained prisoners on board. They witnessed the depredations, which the pirates committed, in the rivers about Canton, and saw the destruction of

several cities and villages. A fleet sent to repel them, was forced back, and the commander blew up his own junk. To encourage them in their cruelties, the pirate admiral paid for every head brought to him, 10 dollars ; which induced these cruel buccaneers, to kill many innocent people.

The Chinese government engaged the Portuguese, at Macao, to lend them several ships, well fitted out and manned. These united fleets, consisting of 93 junks, 6 ships, a brig, and a schooner, attacked the pirates, in a bay, under the island Lantao ; but having tried several methods to annoy them, and also sent in fire boats, which did no execution, they finally withdrew, chased by the Ladrões.

Government would, perhaps, never have been able to reduce them, if Paou had not quarrelled with one of his chiefs, Opo-tae. Their contention ended in fighting, a bloody engagement ensued, and Paou's fleet was defeated. Sixteen of his vessels fell into the hands of the victor, and 300 prisoners were butchered. Opo-tae, fearing the vengeance of Mrs. Ching-yih, tendered his submission to government. In the paper he sent to court, he adduces instances from history, which prove, that robbers obtained grace from his imperial majesty. He mentions poverty, as the original cause which had driven

them to despair, and hopes for mercy. Opo-tae went over, with 8000 men, and was made a naval mandarin.

Mrs. Ching-yih, having shown herself willing to accommodate affairs, received a commissioner on board. The pirate fleet sailed up towards the Bocca Tigris, and the governor of Canton came out to meet them, in order to conclude the treaty. As the governor approached, the pirates hoisted their flags, played on their instruments, and fired salutes. Many thousand spectators were standing on shore, to witness this reconciliation. Followed by Paou, and three officers, Mrs. Ching-yih went on board the mandarin vessel; all fell on their hands and knees, and prostrated themselves, whilst they received her gracious pardon, and promise for future good treatment. But the appearance of some war junks, and a Portugese ship, causing the pirates to fear that some treachery was intended, they immediately hoisted sail, and the negotiations were broken off. Mrs. Ching-yih, convinced of the honesty of the governor, offered to proceed alone to Canton, and conclude the treaty of peace. This the pirates would not allow, until two mandarins arrived, and assured them, that no treachery was intended. She went with several wives of the pirates, to the provincial city, the treaty was signed, the fleet surrendered, Paou

became a mandarin, and cruised against his former associates, who had not yet submitted ; and the common sailors were either permitted to enter the service of his majesty, or to retire to their homes, after having received an indemnification. Thus were the pirates suppressed. The governor received, for his great merits in pacifying the seas, a peacock's feather with two eyes. There have been several Maids of Orleans, in China ; but it was reserved for these degenerate times, to produce a naval heroine, who in peace and war was equally great, and who ruled over a band of savages, with sovereign power.

The pirates were not yet entirely put down, when a more glaring act of wanton pillage was attempted. Kea-king had not been popular, notwithstanding his feigned tears of repentance. Large bands of robbers infested Pi-chi-le, Honan, and Shan-tung, and were, according to the Chinese account, to have acted in concert. That division, which prowled in Pi-chi-le, resolved to attack the imperial palace, to pillage it, and to dethrone the emperor. How they expected to put this design in execution we cannot ascertain, for there are strong guards on all gates, and a sufficient number of body-guards always surrounds the imperial person. Their attack was well directed, the imperial princes

themselves took up arms in defence of the emperor; and it was on this occasion that the present emperor signalized himself, and thus paved the way to the throne. The Pih-heën and Teën-le banditti were accused of having engaged in this daring enterprise. The emperor, in an edict which he issued shortly afterwards, bitterly complains of his lot, in being subjected to such daring attempts, and says, that it is without precedent under the preceding dynasties. He greatly extolled the valour of his brave defenders, and raised them in rank, 1813. All the rebels who were apprehended, were of course put to a slow and ignominious death. Two of the imperial kindred, who were convicted of being concerned in the attack, were strangled. It is very plain, that the men who made the assault, were not mere robbers, but that the whole was a state intrigue. Kea-king ordered that they should be put to death at the tombs of their forefathers, that the spirits of the deceased might witness the punishment inflicted, for the dishonour done to the family.

In 1817, great drought afflicted the country, Kea-king ordered the punishments of criminals to be mitigated, in order to move nature to confer the blessing of rain, and preserve the harmony of the seasons. But the emperor afterwards found, that the fertile vapours were fast bound,

and the felicitous harmony of the seasons interrupted, because fifty of the rebels were still secreted in and about Peking. When this was of no avail, he sent his son to fast and to pray, and offer sacrifice to the gods of heaven, earth, and winds, and after all he had to go with his two brothers, he himself offering at an altar dedicated to heaven, his two brothers upon altars dedicated to earth, and the other to the gods of the passing year, whilst the fourth addressed his supplications to the god of the wind.

His whole reign seems to have been a concatenation of calamities; one rebellion was scarcely suppressed, when the people of another province rose again in arms. Yun-nan and Szechuen kept the imperial army for a long while in motion, until the rebel leaders were bought over, which is after all the most bloodless way.

On the anniversary of his sixtieth year, Kea-king remitted all land taxes, and mitigated punishments. He died on the 2nd of September, 1820.

Taou-kiang was his successor. The following rules for mourning were instituted. When one of the immaculate sages of the family is numbered with those who are departed, the succeeding emperor shall be the chief mourner; he shall take the fringes from his cap, and he

shall lament and stamp his feet for sorrow. The empress, and all the ladies of inferior rank in the palace or harem, shall pluck away their earrings, and remove every ornament of their head dress. A table shall be spread out before the coffin, and there the kings, princes, and nobles, shall pour out libations. The emperor who succeeds shall put on mourning, and dishevel his plaited hair, taking up his abode in a hovel by the side of the corpse. The empress, concubines, and all the ladies of the harem shall cut off their hair. The emperor shall mourn for three years, and during the first hundred days shall cause all imperial edicts to be written with blue ink; all government papers during twenty-seven days, must be stamped with blue ink. During a hundred days, the Chinese shall desist from shaving the head, and the mandarins shall not give their sons and daughters in marriage. "All my people should be dutiful to their parents," said Taou-kwang, "respectful to superiors, ashamed of crime, and cherish a dread of punishment, to aid me in imitating his last majesty, who showed a love of the lives of others, such as Heaven displays. Now, in consequence of all the kings, Tatar nobles, great statesmen, civil and military officers, having said with one voice, Heaven's throne must not be long unoccupied, it is incumbent, that by the

consent of the imperial manes, and the gods of the land, a sovereign do early assume his sway. In consequence of their again remonstrating with me, I forced myself to yield to the general voice, and interrupting my keen sorrows, on the third day of the eighth moon ; having announced the circumstance to Heaven and earth, and to the manes of my imperial ancestors, I sat down on the imperial throne. Let the next year be the first of Taou-kwang."

We shall not expatiate upon his reign before its close. Great disturbances have broken out amongst the Mohammedan tribes in Turkestan, but have been quelled; another revolution broke out in Formosa; the Mëaou-tsze have likewise rebelled; but notwithstanding these untoward events the state of the empire is comparatively tranquil, and trade flourishes more than under any other reign.*

* See *Conquista de la China por el Tartaro*. The Tung-hwa-luh—a Chinese work upon the present dynasty in manuscript. Indo Chinese Gleaner.—*Asiatic Journal*, &c.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CONCLUSION.

PREJUDICES, which heretofore have existed in regard to the Chinese empire, will gradually give way to the correct information, which is daily pouring in upon us. We here give a short abstract of the *Ta-tsing-hwuy-teen*, a statistical work, which is republished under the reign of every monarch, and contains a full view of the constitution of the celestial empire. It is divided into nine parts, the largest edition comprises 261 volumes.

The imperial genealogy precedes the minute details respecting the six tribunals and the laws of the country. His present majesty is anxious to preserve true Tatar blood in the veins of all his kindred, and therefore he prohibits all mixed marriages, and all alliance with the conquered Chinese. Even the imperial relations, who have been degraded for their crimes, are remembered in the genealogical lists. The badges of the *Tsung-shih* and *Keö-lo* are a red

and purple sash, indicating their distant or near relation to the family which sits upon the throne. All the children who are born of the imperial kindred are duly registered; the emperor himself condescends to confer upon them a name. The word "everlasting" forms part of the appellation of the princes of the blood. Marriages in the imperial family are referred to the celestial majesty, and he orders the horoscope to be drawn in order to discover whether these unions will be lucky or not. They are all equally cherished, and in order to maintain the purity of the blood, and to form royal alliances, many princesses of the imperial house are married to the Mongol chiefs, and receive a dowry and annuity. Titles are bestowed by the emperor himself, upon the male branches, when they have reached the age of twenty, according to their merits or demerits; horsemanship and archery are considered as indispensably necessary to their accomplishments. All their actions are regulated; they are perfect automatons who move at the nod of the autocrat. Woe unto him who is refractory; he is denounced as vicious, and degraded and sent into exile. Virtue ought to be their great study, their constant endeavour; for without this indispensable qualification they are unworthy of belonging to the imperial kindred.

Born as soldiers, they often live in a state of private indolence, enjoying a moderate income, whilst others are invested with high offices, but never so as to rival his imperial majesty, who with one stroke of the red pencil can degrade them from their high station to the rank of plebeians. A particular court to regulate the whole imperial kindred is instituted, — the Tsung-jin-foo, in which is a college for the education of the younger branches. They have all to go to the imperial palace at the new and full moon, and at state ceremonies particularly ; the distant relations range themselves outside the palace, whilst the nearer ones enter the hall of audience and perform their prostrations. A golden yellow sash and a yellow bridle, distinguish the lineal descendants of the emperor, a peacock's feather with one, two, or three eyes is indicative of the rank of the nobles. Those who have obtained the rank of kings and dukes are divided into six courses, one of which must be in attendance at the interior of the palace every day, whilst there are from fifty to sixty present at the great state sacrifices.

The imperial ancestors are placed on a par with supreme Heaven. In the time of need prayers and supplications are addressed, as well as to the azure heavens ; they are the dispensers

of all good gifts, and can save from calamity and destruction.

When a female is raised to the rank of empress, the emperor makes an appeal to mother earth, the ancestors and ancient sages. Her majesty goes out at the door of compassion to the outside of the gates of perpetual fidelity; the music strikes up, she performs some courtseys, bows, and receives the high dignity of the mother of the country. The inmates of the harem are generally very numerous; his present majesty Taou-kwang is not remarkable for libidinousness, but nevertheless his concubines are many. Those girls, who are destined to this high rank, have their names embossed in gold; their number is reported to the ancestors; they are led by the overseers of the palace before the throne; their names are read, whilst the music plays; they then enter the palace after some obeisances, and retire under the direction of the empress to the inner apartments. The following day his majesty ascends the harem throne, and all the imperial concubines invite the empress to perform her obeisance. Her majesty accordingly comes forth with the princesses and her kindred, and performs the homage due to the great lord. Their dress is minutely delineated; they are literally machines, which depend entirely upon the pleasure of the great emperor. They are

limited to so many fans, musquito switches, and toilettes ; and the colour of their sedan chairs, gowns, &c. ought to be according to established usage.

When the emperor commences his reign, officers appointed for the purpose announce it to heaven, earth, and the ancestors. His inauguration is splendid, but accompanied by so many minute observances that it would require many pages to give an adequate description of them ; but every thing is done according to established rule, to which the autocrat himself is a slave. At the commencement of spring and autumn, he offers sheep, pigs, and bullocks to the manes of the founders of the Mantchoo dynasty ; but the shades of the emperors of yore are not forgotten, all receive their share of homage, to whatsoever dynasty they may belong. Her majesty offers a sacrifice to the inventor of silk, whilst her imperial husband worships the inventor of agriculture. Last of all come the gods of heaven and earth, created beings, of whom some rank below the superior mandarins. When divine judgments afflict the country, the butchers are prohibited from killing cattle ; and the emperor goes to the temple and performs prostrations, whilst a prayer is read to appease the wrath of azure heaven and mother earth. Keën-lung, in the second year of his reign, was greatly

distressed by a drought, which occasioned a scarcity amongst the populace. He therefore applied to the board of rites, to inquire whether any thing was wanting on his part. The members examined, and reported that it was upon record that the gods of the clouds, of rain, wind, and thunder, were celestial deities, whilst the gods of hills, seas, and rivers, were terrestrial deities. But Kang-he, in addition to the celestial and terrestrial gods, had worshipped the god of the passing year, with all the gods of the four seas; Yung-ching had done the same; therefore they recommended his majesty to follow their example. The astronomical board were commanded to choose a lucky day, whilst the Han-lin college prepared the prayer to be read. The ceremony was duly performed, and thus the judgment averted.

Keën-lung, a martial prince, was very zealous in offering sacrifices to the gods of the city walls, standards, and arms, but especially to the god of the cannon, to which he offered a bullock, a sheep, a hog, five baskets of fruit, incense, candles, and silk; and required the military officers to officiate as priests. The most magnificent sacrifices are offered at the inauguration; the form of prayers is prescribed. Yung-ching declared in the presence of the gods, that the universal cry of the people had

forced him upon the throne, to set an example of rectitude to all nations. He had accordingly, with reluctance complied, and appealed to heaven and earth to aid him in the suppression of anarchy, that the nine regions of the world (the whole earth) might be reduced to tranquillity. Thus benevolence and longevity would extend far and wide.

When Keën-lung abdicated the throne, he dwelt upon the gracious protection which Heaven had afforded him during a reign of sixty-one years; but at his accession to the throne, he burnt incense and prayed silently to Heaven, making a vow, that if he should reign as long as his celebrated predecessor, he would abdicate the throne. To be sure that he made a proper choice in the heir of the crown, he offered a great sacrifice to Shang-te; and whilst mentioning the intended heir of the crown, he besought Heaven and his ancestors to visit his son with judgment if he had made an improper choice. He consulted his aged mother, who held an equal rank with the supreme powers, reported her answer to Heaven; and after having hesitated a long while, he was finally led to place Kea-king upon the throne, after many vows and prayers, and a considerable period of familiar intercourse with the Supreme Ruler, and his ancestors. His choice, how-

ever, seems to have been misguided. These pious ejaculations, which may strike the attention of the reader, are nothing more than mere forms; the divinities invoked are mere puppets; the whole a farce, to cover ambitious views under the cloak of devotion. To conciliate the favour of all idols, there are representatives of the Buddhist and Taou sects appointed, who will advocate the cause of their respective deities, and second his majesty in imploring the favour of their idols. Though the Chinese government disclaims all sects, except the Confucian, as heretical, public officers, as well as the emperor, build and endow temples, where those heterodox idols are worshipped. The Mohammedans are abhorred, as an unruly, vicious race of people; but as many of them hold high stations in government, their religion is tolerated. For this connivance they are very accommodating, when they are called upon to repair to the temples in order to perform idolatrous rites.

The Son of Heaven acknowledges none above himself; he has the divine right of deposing and installing princes, and creates their vassals. The highest allowance for a king of the first order is 10,000 taëls and 12,000 shih (a shih is about 180 lbs.) of rice; thus less than the governors of the large provinces receive. When they

receive promotion, they must thrice kneel and nine times prostrate themselves. On receiving food from the imperial bounty, they kneel once, and thrice bow the head. The Dutch ambassador was required to perform this ceremony nine times, whenever any food was sent him from the imperial table, because he was a barbarian envoy. All Tatar kings who repair to court, and all foreign tribute-bearers, or ambassadors, must thrice kneel and nine times bow the head, at the word of command—Kneel—bow—rise! They are drilled, on purpose to do it gracefully. During this ceremony the music strikes up, and plays the ode—"Glorious subjugation!—all countries enjoy peace!" Officers, who are not of the highest rank, must perform this ceremony outside the palace gate, and, if his majesty be set on the throne, outside the palace wall; a yellow skreen, having the superscription of Wan-suy, ought to inspire the devotees of imperial majesty with the same veneration as the bodily presence of the great master.

The Chinese government is a compact body, divided and subdivided into endless branches, which stand in the most intimate relation to each other. At the head of government is the privy-council. There are four Pae-seangs, called by the missionaries, ko-laou, who deliberate

with the presidents of the six tribunals upon any important subject, and report to the emperor, who decides according to his pleasure; and when the autocrat is displeased with their discussions, he rebukes them sharply and openly. There is a court expressly instituted to receive memorials and petitions, which must be strictly according to the prescribed form, and cannot exceed a certain quantity. Upon urgent business, an officer may write to his sovereign directly; a subject may also appeal to the supreme government at Peking; but if his cause be not well supported, he risks his head. To record the imperial words, actions, and decrees, there are three books kept—one for his sentiments and sayings, another for his commands, and the third for his rescripts; of such, the greater part of Chinese history is composed. The imperial proclamations are drawn up by the members of the Han-lin college; not according to their own option, but in the set phrases and wording established by the ancients, so that these memorialists have only to put the stereotyped sentences together.

The Le-poo—board of officers—is the real department for intrigue. All officers of rank receive from the members their instalment; their merits and demerits are accurately recorded by the provincial government, and they

are accordingly advanced or degraded a certain number of steps, which in all the proclamations they issue, is accurately defined. When they are suspended from their official functions, they may regain their office by repentance, following virtue, and paying a certain sum of money. The names of all the officers, with the appendages of titles, merits, &c. are published in a book, which is every month republished. When they are raised to a higher rank, they go up to Peking, to perform the prostrations of thanksgiving, and to receive the badge of rank. This occasions a constant travelling, and much loss of time and money, but, at the same time, maintains the most intimate relation with the most distant parts of the provinces, and attaches all the officers to their sovereign, from whom alone they can receive promotion and emolument. Public officers are suspended from their functions for three years when one of their parents has died; they may also go on a pilgrimage to the tombs of their ancestors, accompany their parents to their native place, and absent themselves on the plea of sickness. All enormous crimes committed by the people under their jurisdiction are brought home to them; if a fire breaks out, and a large number of houses are burnt down, they run the risk of being degraded; if calamities afflict their respective dis-

tricts, they are accused as the original cause, and ought to propitiate Heaven ; if a rebellion breaks out, they stand a chance of losing their heads. As the political fathers of the people over whom they are appointed, they ought to rule over them with paternal care, and promote virtue. For this purpose, they read sermons drawn up by the imperial hand (the second edict, Shing-yu), and are required to be in word and actions patterns of human perfection. The author, who has had frequent intercourse with mandarins of all ranks, was never acquainted with any body of men who had renounced their natural character so totally, and could glide so easily through all the tortuous paths of intrigue and falsehood. The fundamental principle of patriarchal, primeval government is really the basis of all the institutions, but the execution of this fundamental principle is grossly disfigured by human depravity. But whilst all other constitutions fall to ruins, this ancient building resists the inroads of all-destroying time, and holds together an innumerable nation.

The revenue of the empire is enormous : there are 10,455 grain boats employed, which bring annually the tribute of the provinces to the capital. It is also levied upon the trade, and mines ; and in fact, every thing which can be

taxed ; but a principal source is the imperial monopoly in salt, of which more than 600 millions of pounds are annually consumed. The soldiers receive lands to maintain themselves and their families ; many have been settled in Mantchoo Tatary, Mongolia, and Turkestan, and do not burden the country. The Chinese troops on the Russian frontier are agriculturists. At a station on the river Amour, a number of criminals were sent to reinforce the imperial troops. As they behaved well, the emperor forgave their crimes ; and remarks, if criminals have a path of self-renovation left open to them, there is reason to hope, that they will reform, and become virtuous.

The expenditure of the different branches of government is so great, that the revenues are scarcely adequate to cover it. Every province has its treasure ; from this an annual sum is sent up to Peking, but the respective governors must keep the balance to meet all ordinary and extraordinary expences, and, therefore, they are often on the reverse of the bill. The only current coin consists of a mixture of copper, lead, and zink, with a square hole in it ; on the one side there are Chinese characters, on the other Mantchoo, all are cast with the name of the emperor, under whose reign they were made ; the provinces enjoy the privilege of coining their

own money. Government has also lately cast a silver coin, of a dollar's weight, with Tatar characters, which is used in payment of the soldiers. Otherwise, silver is cast into lumps, and reckoned by taëls, one of which is estimated at 1-398th of a dollar. Europeans call it Sycee silver, the Chinese Wan-yin ; it is generally very pure, and contains, now and then, a small quantity of gold. Dollars are current, but are defaced and stamped, till they are beaten to pieces ; in the northern provinces, unstamped dollars alone are received in payment. Gold is current in ingots, to the value of 220 dollars, one bar of 20 taëls weight.

We shall not dwell too long upon all the rites prescribed in this statistical account, after having already said so much on the subject. Suffice it to remark, that every class of officers and citizens, is daily apprised of his duty, and placed by the endless minuteness, under the necessity of transgressing against the vexatious regulations. The shape, the gait, the posture in sitting, is properly pointed out, &c. When a Tatar king from the dependencies of China, visits a king of imperial extraction at Peking, his attendants must announce his approach. The master of ceremonies gives notice to the host, who invites the visitor to come in ; the latter dismounts from his horse at the gate. Then the host walks down the steps to receive him, and both enter

the middle gate. The visitor, with his face towards the west, kneels twice, and performs the kow-tow six times; the host performs the same ceremonies; both rise, the visitor sits on the west, the host on the east side. The attendant officers must then ascend the steps on the east side, and having performed the same ceremony as their master outside the door, must enter by the right-hand wicket, and sit down behind the guest. The master of ceremonies must then present tea, on receiving which, the guest must kneel and prostrate himself once; this the host returns. Having drank the tea, the attendants must come up in front, knock head once, and first retire. When the guest leaves the table, he must kneel and knock head once, the host must return it. Having risen from his knees, he must accompany the guest to the foot of the steps, and the master of the ceremonies to the outside of the gate. This may serve as a fair specimen of Chinese etiquette. All the other ranks, to the lowest police officer, who performs kow-tow before the mandarin, have a due share of ceremony, the observance of which is quite essential to their office. Yet, ceremony is often waived, and the Chinese can greet each as cordially as we ourselves, but this is not in accordance to established rule.

Monarchs, who intend to send an ambassador

to the imperial court, ought to inform themselves upon the ceremonial, which these personages have to pass and to perform. As the emperor of China does not acknowledge any power upon terms of equality, foreign envoys ought to render the homage of vassals. It would, perhaps, be advisable, to convince his imperial majesty, that there are powers possessed of a large extent of territory, and numerous subjects, who can demand a proper treatment for their representatives. It is put down as a law, that an embassy by land, shall never consist of more than 100 personages, 20 of whom only are allowed to repair to the court, whilst the remainder have to wait on the frontiers. An embassy sent by way of the sea, ought only to consist of three vessels, with 100 men in each of them, &c.

When we view the Chinese military system, as it is on paper, we may consider it as excellent in its kind ; but of all Chinese institutions, none is so much at variance with the written military laws as the army. The Chinese are naturally a peaceful people, and make bad soldiers, but good agriculturists ; they have long lived in peace, and entirely lost their martial spirit. To make up this deficiency, a regular code of martial laws has been compiled. The army amounts to about 1,200,000 soldiers ; the Mongols and Mantchoos, who form the great body of cavalry,

included. Their military tactics consists in so many evolutions, that one is led to think they perform their exercise in an apartment. The drum and gong give the signal for advancing and halting. He who hears the drum, and does not advance, or hears the gong, and does not halt, shall be decapitated. When an enemy advances, he who shrinks, or whispers to his comrade, shall be decapitated. The signal-superintendent, who does not beat the drum, or sound the gong, or stop at the instant he is commanded, shall be punished with forty blows. When in the act of engaging, he who disobeys orders shall be beheaded. He who, by false pretences, endeavours to rob another man of his military merit, shall be decapitated. Those who, on a march, shall oppress the people, force sales, rob, harm, and violate women, shall all be decapitated. So it goes on, and at such a rate, that we are led to fear that, under present circumstances, the whole army would die by the hand of the executioner before they had come in sight of an enemy.

Shun-che, when he had possessed himself of the Chinese throne, published a manifesto, addressed to his soldiers ; wherein he says : " Our object is to exterminate the rebels, and to tranquillize the people. Avail not yourselves of your physical force, to plunder the people, pull down

their dwellings, or destroy their utensils, &c. Carry into effect my wishes, which tend to subjugate the rebels. If any persons oppose these orders, punish them severely." Nevertheless, the soldiers acted contrary to those laws, and did what the emperor had forbidden them. The emperor complains bitterly about their stubbornness, and blames their commanders in harsh language. Kang-he exults in the many victories which his countrymen gained. He ascribes it to the rewards and punishments being justly administered, the martial law being strict, the soldiers being well trained, and their weapons sharp. He forgot to mention the weakness of their opponents, and the convulsions which shook the Chinese empire to the foundation. When a victory is gained, the general is honoured by a triumphant entry. The emperor himself offers, on such joyous occasions, a sacrifice of thanks. When they commence a campaign, the soldiers announce their intention to Heaven and earth, to their deceased ancestors, and other deities,—the gods of the roads and standards,—amidst the din of gongs, horns, and trumpets; and then march forth to gain the victory. The maintenance of good order, which constitutes the office of constables, is, in China, under the control of soldiers. They have their houses and family, and, properly speaking, a militia. We

pass over the Board of Justice, and punishments, as being too large a field to enter upon. We might say much respecting their public works ; but they are, by the present generation, neglected ; and shall only remark, that both the Chinese government and nation present an anomaly, wherein there is much to blame, but also much to praise.*

* See Ta-tsing-hwuy-teen. Eleventh Report of the Anglo Chinese College.—Appendix.

CHAPTER XIX.

PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN CHINA.

NESTORIANS.



CHRISTIANITY, even in its most deformed shape, has always contained within itself an invigorating principle, and extended its peaceful conquests. It was the last commandment of Christ, to preach the gospel to all nations ; and every true Christian should act as if not wholly unworthy of the high trust reposed in him. To China, however, the pure gospel—salvation by the blood of Christ, has seldom been preached.

When the celebrated traveller, Marco Polo, traversed the regions of central Asia, in the 13th century, he found various sects of Christians, but principally Nestorians, in Persia, whither they had fled on account of the persecutions they had to undergo from the orthodox Grecian emperors. They had even spread as far as Kashgar, where they had their churches, and lived under their own laws. He found them also in Kankan, Sha-choo, Lewlan, Egrigaca,

and in the Chinese provinces of Shen-se, Yun-nan, and Fuh-keën.

The reviving influence of the gospel animated the hearts of the apostles and their followers, to penetrate to the most distant parts of the world. Their love for their fellow men was unbounded, and they bore all hardships joyfully. St. Thomas, who is denominated "the apostle of the Hindoos and Chinese," in the epitome of the Syrian canons, traversed a great part of western Asia, visited India, and finally reached Kam-balu, which, according to the latest researches, is the Khanbalik of the Tatars, and the Peking of the Chinese. Having built a church here, he returned to Meliapore, on the coast of Koromandel, where, being very successful in the conversion of the infidels, he was stoned and pierced with a lance, by the envious Brahmins. Though the foregoing is taken from Syrian tradition only, the fact is corroborated by the concurrent testimonies of the Chaldean ritual, which concludes with the following sentence: "By the blessed Thomas, the kingdom of Heaven was extended and opened to the Chinese." The Syrian metropolitan of the Malabar coast always subscribed himself the metropolitan of all Hindoostan and China. Kwan-yun-chang, a celebrated Chinese writer, is said to mention the birth of the Saviour in the Grotto, exposed to all the winds; his death; his resurrection; his

ascension, and the impression of his holy feet. Though the author has not seen his work, he is acquainted with the *Shin-seên-tung-keên*, a history of all religions in Chinese—where Christianity is detailed in such a way, as to leave no doubt, that it was known in China long before the entrance of the Jesuits, but only in a circumscribed sphere, and very imperfectly.

The Syrian monument, which was found at *Se-gan-foo*, in *Shen-se*, substantiates the evidence of the efforts made by the Syrian churches to propagate the Nestorian creed. According to this monument, *Olopwan*, the Nestorian, came from Judea to China, A. D. 636, after having escaped great dangers both by sea and land. The emperor *Tae-tsung*, hearing of his arrival, sent a minister to meet him as far as the suburbs of the imperial city, with orders to conduct him to the palace. When he arrived, his law was examined, its truth acknowledged, and the emperor published an edict in its favour. He then ordered a church to be built, and appointed one-and-twenty persons for its service. Chinese history mentions the arrival of an embassy from *Se-yih*, about this time. The priests of the Nestorians informed their brethren of their great success; a great number of other missionaries arrived. But the churches which they had built, did not long prosper, the Christian priests were confounded with those of Buddha, and a

severe edict published against them, prohibiting the worship of idols—under the reign of Heuentung, A. D. 713. However, this fierce persecution does not seem to have extinguished the zeal of the Nestorian converts ; and though their number must have been small, their influence still less, they gloried in having a royal convert amongst the khans of Tatar, the celebrated Prester John. When the mighty conqueror, Genghis, entered on his victorious career, he sacrificed a horse, and tasted of a running stream. He subdued the rebels, and placed seventy cauldrons upon fires ; and seventy of the most guilty chiefs were cast headlong into the boiling water. His arms were at first directed against the Christian monarch, Prester John, khan of the Keraites, whom he put to death, and used his silver-enchased skull as a drinking cup. When Marco Polo visited those regions, he found George, one of the descendants of Prester John, upon the throne. According to his relation, he was both a Christian and a priest, the greater part of the inhabitants being also Christians. This king George held his country as a fief of the grand khan, not indeed the whole of the original possessions of Prester John, but a certain portion of them ; and the sovereign always bestowed upon him, as well as upon the other princes of his house, his daughters

and other females of the royal family in marriage. Amongst the inhabitants, however, there were both idolaters and followers of the law of Mohammed.

Comestabularius, an Armenian, who about the year 1248, wrote a letter to the king of Cyprus, concerning the Christians of Tangouth, says, "This is the country out of which the three kings came to Bethlehem, to adore Christ, and the people of this country are Christians. I myself have been in their churches, and seen paintings of Jesus Christ, and of the three kings ; one presenting the gold, a second the frankincense, and a third the myrrh. Through these three kings they had the knowledge of the faith of Christ, and through them the khan and all his people were made Christians. When they go to salute the great khan, they first enter the church and salute the Lord Jesus Christ, and then go to salute the khan. We found also many Christians dispersed through the eastern country, and many goodly churches, lofty and ancient, which had been despoiled by the Tatars. The Christians of the country, when they come into the presence of the khan, who now reigns, are received with the greatest honour, treated liberally, and none suffered to annoy them. And, though by reason of their sins, Christ has none to preach his name in those regions, yet he himself

preacheth for himself, and declareth it by his own most holy virtues in such manner, that the nations of these countries believe in Christ." The papal missionaries, who were sent thither by the pope towards the end of the 13th century, add their testimonies to those already quoted. Of the Chinese churches we know less; but are told that they were constantly supplied with missionaries from Syria. That there was no vestige of them when the Jesuits entered China, is easily accounted for. Great revolutions had been effected in China, the revengeful hand of the Mohammedan conqueror, Timur, had obliterated the few traces of Christianity which still remained. Moreover, a mere Christian ceremonial, without the true spirit of the gospel does not abide, the heartless nominal Christian being very soon transformed into a Mohammedan or idolator.

Chinese historians have nowhere described the early introduction of Christianity, which, to these worldly men, seemed an insignificant event, unworthy of their researches. Besides, they confound all foreign creeds, and treat them with the utmost contempt. But the clearest evidence that a spurious sort of Christianity once reigned over a great part of central Asia, we have in the striking coincidence of some rites of Buddhism with the superstitions of the

degenerated Eastern and Western churches. The Lamas of Tibet revere, in their high priest, an incarnate deity, by no means different from the pope ; they chaunt as is done in the Roman churches ; they pray for the dead ; they wear a bishop's mitre ; have monasteries and fasts ; perform pilgrimages ; use the holy water ; live in celibacy ; say mass,* &c.

ROMAN CATHOLICS.

The pope, Innocent IV., anxious to avert the dangers of repeated Tatar invasions, dispatched Carpini and Rubruquis, zealous men, in order to convert these furious conquerors. Monte Corvino, a friar of the minorite order, went also in 1289 on a mission to the Tatar potentates, from Nicolas IV., and travelling by the way of Persia and India, reached the capital of China soon after the accession of Timur Khan to the throne of his grandfather, Kublai, in 1294. His credentials were addressed to Arghun, the Mongol sovereign of Persia, and to Kublai, grand khan of the Tatars. According to his own letter, which he addressed to his brethren in Europe, he reached Peking,

* See Marco Polo,—Yeates' Indian Church History,—Gibbon, &c.

and erected a church. However, the Nestorians were his bitter enemies, and inspired the emperor with suspicions against him. He converted the heretical Tatar khan, George, to the orthodox faith, though he could not make a convert of the grand khan : he translated the New Testament and the psalter into the language of the country. Upon his representations new missionaries were sent out, and endeavoured to persuade the sons of the desert, as well as the Mongols in China, to embrace the Christian faith. We are not informed of their success, but only know that circumstances obstructed the promotion and progress of this mission, so that it finally ceased.

The Mongol emperors of China seemed rather to view Christianity with a favourable eye. Nayan, a certain chief who had embraced Christianity, and was uncle to the great Kublai, had succeeded to the dominion of many cities and provinces, which enabled him to bring an army of 400,000 horse into the field. He rose in open rebellion against his nephew. Scarcely had the vigilant Kublai heard of his martial preparations, when he marched with an immense army against the rebels. He stationed himself in a large wooden castle borne on the backs of four elephants, the bodies of which were protected with coverings of thick leather, hardened by

fire, over which were housings of gold cloth. This wooden castle was full of crossbow-men, and upon the top of it was hoisted the imperial standard adorned with the representation of the sun and moon. Nayan, who had secretly received baptism, but never openly professed Christianity, bore the sign of the cross in his banners, having a great number of Christians in his ranks. But he lost the battle by the impetuous valour of Kublai's army, and was put to death. When the Jews and Saracens perceived that the banner of the cross was overthrown, they taunted the Christians, saying, "Behold the state to which your vaunted banners and those who followed them, are reduced!" The Christians laid their complaint before the grand khan, who ordered the infidels to appear before him, and severely rebuking them, he said, "If the cross of Christ has not proved advantageous to the party of Nayan, the effect has been consistent with reason and justice, inasmuch as he was a rebel and traitor to his lord, and to such wretches it could not afford its protection. Let none, therefore, presume to charge with injustice the God of the Christians, who is himself the perfection of goodness and of justice!" After this signal victory, the emperor returned to Peking. At the next festival of Easter, he commanded all

the Christians to attend him, and to bring with them their book, which contains the four Gospels of the Evangelists. After causing it to be repeatedly perfumed in a ceremonious manner, he devoutly kissed it, and directed that the same should be done by all his nobles present.

This was his usual practice upon each of the principal Christian festivals; and he observed the same at the festivals of the Saracens, Jews, and idolaters.

When he sent Nicolo and Maffia-Palo to the pope, as ambassadors, he gave his reason for not becoming a Christian. "The idolaters," he remarked, "can perform miracles, their idols have the faculty of speech, and predict to them whatever is required. They have the power of controlling the weather, and exercise authority over nature. But return you to your pontiff, and request of him, in my name, to send hither one hundred persons, well skilled in your law, who, being confronted with the idolaters, shall have power to coerce them, and to show that they themselves are endowed with similar power, but which they refrain from exercising, because it is derived from the agency of evil spirits; you will compel them to desist from practices of such a nature in their presence. When I am witness of this, I shall place them, and their religion, under an interdict, and shall allow my-

self to be baptized. All the nobility will follow my example, and this will be imitated by my subjects, in general; so that the Christians of these parts, will exceed in number those who inhabit your own country."

Barkah, the brother of Batu, and grandson of Genghis, met some merchants, on his journey to Peking, and is said to have been converted by them. On his return, he enjoined all his subjects to follow his example; but died, before he saw his wishes realized. Thus we ought not to be astonished when we read, that Kublai dispatched the above-mentioned messengers to the pope, who were, moreover, commanded to bring, on their return, the holy oil from Jerusalem, from the lamp which is kept burning over the sepulchre of our Lord, whom Kublai professed to hold in veneration, and to consider as the true God. Entrusted with a letter to his holiness, after many adventures, they reached Acre, in the month of April, 1269. Clement IV. had recently died, but they were advised by the legate of this city to await the election of another pope, and to pursue their mission with all speed. After many disappointments, they were finally dispatched by Gregory X., who sent with them Nicolo da Vicenza, and Guglielmo da Tripoli, two very learned friars and profound theologians, who had re-

ceived the power of consecrating bishops, and ordaining priests; but we hear nothing about the hundred missionaries, whom Kublai had demanded. At the same time Haiton, the Armenian traveller, informs us, that Kublai, with his whole house, was baptized by Rubruquis, a missionary who had been sent before by St. Louis of France. But he had not, at that time, established his power; nor was his whole attention turned upon China; so that he willingly promised to send an army against the Saracens, in order to deliver the holy sepulchre.

The friars, Vicenza and Tripoli, did not reach their destination; being terrified by the accounts of the dreadful slaughter that Bibars, the Mameluk sultan of Egypt, had made in Armenia. Abaka, the western khan of the Mongol empire, implored the aid of the Christian princes, against the cruel invaders; his ambassadors were admitted at the council of Lyons, 1274, and concluded a treaty with the pope, and the ambassadors of St. Louis, and other Christian princes. There are still some letters extant which were exchanged between the Mongol khan, and Louis. Our travellers arrived at court, and were kindly received by Kublai, but we hear nothing more of the propagation of Christianity. The communication between the Chinese empire and the western world, through so many deserts,

inhabited by rapacious hordes, became more and more precarious, and was, finally, entirely cut off. But the Almighty, who rules the skies, opened another door by way of the sea. We have already mentioned, that during the latter end of the Han dynasty, ambassadors arrived at Canton from Ta-tsin,—according to all probability, Arabia,—with the view of trading. But this intercourse seems not to have been kept up, though it was afterwards resumed by the Arabs, when they had become Moham-medans.

When, in the latter end of the 15th century, the Portuguese discovered the way to India round the Cape of Good Hope, they made Goa, on the coast of Malabar, their principal emporium, and, in 1511, took possession of Malacca. Five years afterwards, Raphaël Perestrello made sail in a junk for China. Francis Xavier, a man of great talent, of a fervent zeal, and the utmost perseverance in the propagation of Christianity, thought that all his success, which had attended him in India and Japan was nothing, if he did not convert the greatest of nations—the Chinese. Confident, that after their conversion, all the other Asiatic nations would follow their example, he set out from Malacca with the firm purpose either to die or to promulgate his doctrines in China. We may smile at

such an enthusiasm, or reprobate the tenets, which Francis Xavier preached; but we can only lament, that the fervent zeal of so truly great a man was not devoted to a better cause. He arrived at the island Shang-chuen-shan, called Sancian or St. John's, to the west of Canton, 1552; from whence he wished to enter China. But insurmountable obstacles arose, no person dared to convey him over to the main; and some represented to him, that he would incur imprisonment and death, if he dared to infringe the laws of exclusion. Nothing, however, could damp his zeal; and he at length prevailed on a merchant to transport him across the channel during the night; but he died before he could execute his design.

A Dominican monk, Gaspar de Cruz, began to preach in China in 1552, but was expelled. Some Spanish Augustines, left Manilla with a Chinese Admiral, who had been liberally provided with provisions, and arrived in Fuh-keën, where they drew up a petition to the emperor, as well as to the viceroy of the province, praying that they might be permitted to stay, but were sent back in 1575. Four Capuchins, who had resolved to penetrate into China, whatever might be the risk, were wrecked on the coast, saved and sent to Manilla, but they rather chose to stay at the new settlement of Macao.

An Italian Jesuit, A. Valignano, vicar of India, in his way to Japan, touched at Macao, where he spent ten months. His zeal was kindled when he contemplated that immense nation to which he could have no access. In vain he attempted to send them teachers; they were not able to enter the empire, and he was heard to exclaim, when looking at the insurmountable barriers which prevented the propagation of the gospel—"O rock! O rock! when wilt thou open." But not content with idle and useless complaints, which avail nothing, he chose from amongst the missionaries entrusted to his care, the most talented, whom he caused to be instructed in the knowledge of the Chinese language. The most celebrated amongst them were, Ruggiero (Roger) and Ricci. Ruggiero made great progress in the language; he was appointed chaplain of the fleet, which went from Macao to Canton, and said mass under a shed erected on the bank of the river. Favoured by the admiral of the Canton station, he was permitted to lodge in the palace assigned for the temporary stay of ambassadors; and being deputed by the Macao magistrate to counteract an edict, which put that place under the immediate jurisdiction of the viceroy, those two Jesuits, in company with Paccio, one of their brethren, arrived at Canton, as mediators.

They presented to the viceroy many gifts, amongst them an elegant pendulum and prism ; and asked permission to remain in the provincial city, which was granted to them. But the death of the viceroy disconcerted all their plans. Roger and Ricci lived at Shaou-king-foo, in the disguise of Buddhist priests. They drew maps, and instructed the Chinese in several sciences, which procured them the esteem of the inhabitants, but the rabble occasionally treated them with insult. When the Che-foo, or magistrate of the district, was recalled, the people, as well as the literati, resolved to erect a temple in his honour, on account of his great popularity. In order to render his name more celebrated, the two foreign priests were appointed to officiate in the temple. This the Jesuits declined, upon the plea of worshipping the God of Heaven ; yet this refusal had no dangerous consequences. Ricci, who had been for seven years at immense pains to collect a congregation, received, on a sudden, orders to leave the country. But he was not disheartened ; a permission to stay, which countermanded the order, very soon arrived. Ricci recommenced his functions, threw off the costume of the Buddha priesthood, and adopted that of the literati. More labourers having arrived in the meantime, Ricci, anxious to extend their sphere of usefulness, pro-

ceeded to Nanking, where on account of his many services, he was created superior of all missions in China. He had established a church at Nan-chang, in Keang-se, and laid the foundation of another at Soo-chow, in Keang-soo. He greatly desired to settle in the capital; but in this he was baffled by the suspicions entertained of every foreigner, and his being mistaken for a Japanese, whose countrymen had then invaded the country. But when Tae-kosama, emperor of Japan, had landed in Korea, and advanced by forced marches towards Leaou-tung, the dastardly Chinese began to tremble. The emperor convoked a council of war; and Ricci accompanied one of his friends, who, as a member of this assembly, hastened to Peking. However, the vessel, in which he had embarked, being wrecked, he was compelled to return to Nanking, whence he was driven to Nan-chang, from whence he undertook, in company with Cataneo, another Jesuit, to visit the capital, under the auspices of a great mandarin, his personal friend. But his stay at the court was too short, to ensure success to the establishment of Christianity.

After the arrival of new labourers, and some costly presents from Europe, he commenced his journey to the capital as a tribute-bearer, but this mission almost failed, by the rapaciousness of an eunuch, who endeavoured to appropriate the

presents to himself. Having, finally, come into the presence of the emperor, Wan-leih, he laid before him a picture of the Saviour and the Holy Virgin, with other valuable presents. Here he lived under the name of Le-ma-ton ; and became so celebrated, that his house was crowded from morning till evening by visitors. Even a great mandarin, Le, and Seu, a minister of the cabinet, made open profession of the Christian faith. The latter of these seems to have been very sincere in his conversion ; he valued Christianity, because it taught the immortality of the soul. He honoured the heralds of popery, took them under the wings of his protection, and became a most decided champion. His daughter, Candida, was a still greater advocate of these new doctrines ; converted her husband, built churches, and encouraged the missionaries. There were, in the province of Këang-nan alone, ninety churches, forty-five oratories, and three kinds of congregations. Besides those set apart for the worship of the Holy Virgin, and those of the Infants, who were named the congregation of angels, there was a third, called that of the passion of Jesus Christ, where the most fervent Christians assembled every Friday to meditate upon the death and sufferings of our Saviour. A fourth congregation, of the literati, was instituted, under the protection of Ignatius. These

met together the first day of every month, when they repeated the instructions they had composed upon the principal truths of our faith, our mysteries, and most remarkable festivals. If the missionaries approved of them, they sent them to the mandarins, that they might recite them on Sunday in those churches which they themselves could not attend.

Candida greatly promoted the Roman Catholic cause, by defraying the expenses of printing, for distribution, 130 volumes, upon the principal doctrines of the Gospel ; amongst which were the Theological Summary of St. Thomas, the Commentaries of Baradius, Reflections upon the Evangelists, &c. ; but no translations of the holy Word of God. Afterwards, she visited, in company with her son, the Lord Basilius (his Christian name), the provinces Keang-se, Hoo-kwang, and Sze-chuen ; in all of which she built churches, and promoted Christianity. To increase the number of votaries, she educated, in the Christian faith, the helpless babes who had been exposed by their cruel parents. She even instructed the blind people, who lived by fortune-telling, that each of them might go about and make it known to the people, instead of those idle stories they used to recite. Her great merits having attracted the attention of the emperor, he presented her, on her birth-day, with a splen-

did robe, which she received with due humility, and wore for one day ; but afterwards converted the splendid ornaments into money, which she gave to the poor, or sent to adorn the Christian altar.

The rapid progress of Christianity raised the envy of the idolatrous priests, who said to Ricci : “ We oppose not your preaching to the people about the reverence due to the Lord of Heaven ; we consent that your God should reign there ; but leave to our divinities the empire of the earth ; nor oppose the honours we render to them.” By their influence upon the queen, they had almost succeeded in procuring an order for banishing Ricci ; but a scandalous libel, which was dispersed throughout the palace, and of which they were said to be the authors, brought upon them severe punishments : and the tempest was thus dispersed. Ricci was unwearied in his labours ; and, being an elegant Chinese writer, employed all his credit at court for the protection of his brethren, who were now in great numbers dispersed in the provinces. In order to prevent all dispute, he wrote, in 1603, a work upon the Divine Law, which contained the regulations for the observance of all the preachers of the new faith. He bought, at Peking, a large house, which ultimately was converted into a church, dedicated to St. Joseph.

But so great a degree of prosperity made other orders of priests envious of their good fortune. They spread the rumour that Cataneo, who was then at Macao, was ambitious of becoming emperor, by the influence of his brethren the Jesuits; a fleet of the Dutch and Japanese was to support them, and the governors, as well as the soldiers, were already in their interest. The church of St. Paul at Macao, they said, was a castle, and the Monte a fortress. In order to prevent this rebellion, the viceroy of Canton gave strict orders to cut off all communication with Macao, and directed the Tsëang-keun, or general, to storm the place. This man was happily a poltroon, and hesitated to execute the orders. By degrees these rumours subsided; every person laughed at his own credulity, and the Jesuits were again free to prosecute their labours; and only one missionary, Martinez, who was at that time at Canton, was killed, without being examined.

Ricci's constitution was finally broken down, and he died in 1610. Those who were present at his death-bed, melted into tears, on account of the devotion with which he received the sacrament, whilst he crawled into the middle of the room and adored it. All the city was in mourning at the death of this extraordinary man, and the emperor allotted a spacious gar-

den for his burial-place. He had only spent twenty-seven years in China, and during that time he had executed an Herculean task. He was the first Catholic missionary who penetrated into the empire; and when he died, there were more than three hundred churches in the different provinces. What cannot one zealous man do, if his whole soul be directed towards one object?—what might Ricci have done, had he dedicated his labours to the blessed Redeemer!

After Ricci's death, a Nanking mandarin accused the missionaries at the Le-poo, or tribunal of rites, of introducing dangerous innovations. A fierce persecution broke out in 1615; the missionaries were sent back to Canton, or forced to conceal themselves in the houses of their converts. But they soon regained their lost favour, at the approach of the Mantchoo Tatars, when they proposed to send for Macao auxiliaries and gunners, who might drill the imperial soldiers and teach them military tactics, so as to resist their undisciplined enemies. Though these troops were countermanded, Jesuits were established in the imperial favour by the influence of Sice, and of Schaal, a German Jesuit, if not superior, at least equal to Ricci. But now the invasion of the Tatars destroyed the hopes of the reinstated missionaries. The whole em-

pire was one scene of confusion. In Canton and Kwang-se the victorious career of the Tatars was checked by two Christian generals, Thomas Keu, viceroy of Kwang-se, and Luke Chin, general of Canton province. Yung-leih, a prince of the Ming family, was proclaimed emperor; at his court there were thirty ladies of rank, who, with the new prime minister, Pan Achilles, an eunuch, had embraced Christianity. Even the empress dowager, the empress herself, and the heir of the crown, were converted to Christianity, and baptized by Koffler, a German Jesuit, and sent a letter to the pope, Alexander VII. which we insert here.

“ The empress Helena, the most just, most wise, most clement, and most venerable, addresses the throne of the most holy father, the most mighty prince, the doctor of the Catholic church, and the vicar of Jesus Christ on earth.

“ I, Helena, who blush with shame to remain in the imperial palace, though I am a humble grand-child of the Chinese emperor; I, who have no knowledge of strange laws, and who have only studied those that regard a retired life, have been happy enough to find a man called Andrew Xavier, of the company of Jesus, who came to settle at our court, to publish there a holy doctrine, whereby he has acquired a great

reputation. I had a desire to see him, and after having satisfied my curiosity, I was sensible that what was said of him was true, and that he was an extraordinary man.

“ The esteem I entertained for his merit, made me easily relish his doctrine. I have received holy baptism from his hand, and he has been partly the cause that the empress Mary, mother to the emperor, I his lawful wife, and Constantine, son and heir of the said emperor, were, three years ago, likewise regenerated by the waters of baptism, after having been sufficiently instructed in the truth of religion. As I wish to be grateful, even at the hazard of my life, for all the grace I have received from Heaven, I have often cherished the desire and thought to repair to your holiness, that I might by yourself be instructed in my duty, but the distance of place hindered me. For this reason I write this to your holiness, to the end that by your holy prayers you may render the divine majesty favourable to poor sinners, such as we are ; and that you might be pleased to grant us plenary remission of our sins to the hour of death.

“ We likewise entreat you, most holy father, to beg of God, in conjunction with the holy church, that he may vouchsafe to take our empire under his protection ; but above all that he

may grant to our imperial house the blessings of peace, and teach the emperor, (who is the eighteenth of this line, and nephew of the twelfth successor to the founder of this monarchy,) and all his subjects, to know and to adore the true God, Jesus Christ. We likewise beseech you, that you would show us the favour of sending other holy persons of the society of Jesus, in order that they may publish throughout the empire the holy laws of the Gospel, which would lay us under great obligation. For this end, we send your holiness Michael Boym, who is perfectly well acquainted with the affairs of the empire, to present these our humble petitions. He can declare to you verbally all that we more particularly desire, and he will make you acquainted how great is our submission to the church. Whenever our empire shall enjoy full peace, we hope to send back some of these fathers, to present our vows and persons before the altars of the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, as we do at present with profound respect.

“Lastly, we kneel and fall prostrate, craving the favour of your holiness, in hopes that you will look upon us with a gracious eye.”

*Fourth year of Yung-leih,—11th of 11th moon,
(corresponding to the 4th of November,
1650.)*

With all charity, we cannot believe that this is the genuine production of the empress, but rather think, that one of her teachers wrote it, and she sent it. But the pope received this address most graciously, sent a very kind letter, wherein he called her his daughter in Jesus Christ, and fully granted all her requests.

Adam Schaal, who alone had remained at Peking, was, after the accession of the Tatar dynasty to the throne of China, raised to be president of the tribunal of mathematics. Though the Jesuits might have regretted that their new imperial converts of Canton lost the empire, their brother Schaal, had so much gained the esteem and favour of Shun-che, the Tatar emperor, that he could afford all his fellow-labourers ample protection. This prince was so attached to him, that he spent whole days with him, in his own house. On a cold winter day, the emperor saw Schaal thinly clothed, and pulled off his own waistcoat, to make a present to him. He called him Ma-fa, a very honorable title amongst the Tatars, signifying ancient father, and remarked: "The mandarins love and serve me only from selfish views, and are every day begging some favour or other; but though Ma-fa knows that I love him, he always refuses the favours I press upon him, being satisfied with my friendship." When Buglio

and Magelhaens had been seized, in the province of Sze-chuen, the emperor received them kindly, as the brothers of Schaal, and offered them a dwelling in his own palace. At the arrival of new missionaries, amongst whom was the celebrated F. Verbiest, he received them very courteously, and appointed Verbiest as deputy to Schaal, who was already advanced in years. Schaal often conversed with Shunche, upon the doctrines of Christianity. Once he presented his imperial pupil with a book of prints, representing the history of the birth, life, and death of our Saviour, with explanations in the Chinese language. The emperor fell upon his knees, and looked respectfully at it. He was penetrated with the purity of the Christian doctrines, and admired the moral precepts. But, notwithstanding the prepossession of the emperor in favour of Christianity, he lived and died an idolater. His queens, who favoured the Bonzes, had entangled his heart; and he harboured, besides, an unlawful passion, for the wife of a Tatar lord, on account of which he was severely rebuked by Schaal. This censure was productive of a certain coolness, but upon his death-bed, when Schaal paid him a visit, he received his exhortation in meekness of heart. After his decease, Schaal was appointed instructor to the young emperor, the celebrated

Kang-he. But the newly established churches, were very soon placed in great danger. Yang-kwang-seën, a mandarin of very high rank, accused the missionaries openly of perverting the venerable and long established customs of the empire. Verbiest, as well as Schaal, were imprisoned, and loaded with heavy chains, 1664. In the provinces, the fire of persecution, nourished by national jealousy and antipathy, raged very fiercely. The missionaries had to suffer cruel mockings, and many sealed their faith with their blood; others were sent to Canton. Schaal, as well as Verbiest, would have been strangled in prison, if, by the wonderful interposition of Providence, a severe earthquake had not intimidated the judges, so as to prevent the execution of the sentence they had pronounced. But these reverses, instead of abating the zeal of the Jesuits, served only to increase it more and more. When Semedo, a Portuguese, who had most cruelly suffered at Nanking for his faith, returned to his native country, and gave a relation of what he had undergone, a great number of the students of the university of Coimbra, subscribed their names, with their own blood, to show their readiness to go forth and suffer for the same good cause.

Schaal died very soon afterwards of old age. Verbiest showed his superiority in mathematics,

and was by the young emperor promoted to the same rank which his predecessor had hitherto held. When Kang-he, at his accession had declared a general amnesty, the Jesuits also enjoyed the benefit of it. As the accuser of Schaal had been found to be a villain, Schaal was declared innocent; and to show that this was the imperial decree, a piece of ground was allotted for his grave, and the officers of state were ordered to attend at his funeral.

In the year 1671, the missionaries were put in possession of their churches. But the edict was clogged with a clause, whereby all the subjects of the empire were prohibited from embracing Christianity. Verbiest, a man of more subtle character than Schaal, very soon ingratiated himself with the young emperor, and became his instructor in metaphysics, mathematics, and physics. By founding new cannon, which could be easily transported, he gained still more the confidence of his patron. To prevent the superstition of the Chinese, who sacrifice to the spirits of the air, mountains and rivers, according to the various natural phenomena, and the different events they went to celebrate, he erected an altar in the foundery, on which he placed a crucifix, and adored the true God in his surplice and stole, making nine prostrations and bowing his head to the ground. It is the

custom to give names to cannon, and the father gave them the names of saints, and traced their character on the breech of the gun. By these means he gained such an ascendancy, that he could procure the permission for the establishment of all the missions, which were required. A letter addressed to Pope Innocent, in 1680, for more labourers in this great harvest, had the desired effect. Other orders shared in the great work, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Augustines, inundated China. The most celebrated missionaries at that time in the empire were Frenchmen; among whom the principal were Gerbillion, Bouvet, and Le Compte, as men of the highest talent. They arrived by way of Siam in a Chinese junk, at Ningpo; but the viceroy, very much offended at the appearance of strangers, would have sent them back, if his imperial majesty had not interfered. From Ningpo they proceeded to Hang-choo, the capital of Che-këang, where they were kindly and fraternally received by the Christians of that place. Intorcetta, the residing missionary, bore still the marks of the persecution on his body. A mandarin was sent on board the imperial junk, which conveyed them to Peking, whose principal care it was to have due honours bestowed upon them during the voyage. But Verbiest died before they had reached the capital. He was a man, who prac-

tised mortification to excess; at court he only appeared girt with a hair-cloth, bound round his body with an iron-chain, stuck with points. To promote the Roman Catholic tenets under all circumstances, and by all means, was the great and constant object of his endeavours. He did not hesitate to undergo the greatest hardship on that account, nor was he scrupulous to effect that end by jesuitical means. His genius would have done honour to the highest employments of the state; he would have shone as well in the cabinet as at the university; but we leave his recompense to the Judge of all mankind. The emperor of China rewarded him by a splendid funeral; his father-in-law, with one of the first officers of the court were present at the interment, which was performed with all the pageantry of the Romish church. Kang-he erected a monument upon the grave, with an inscription of the imperial eulogium. A deputation of mandarins was sent to perform the Chinese funeral rites. To make his fame more lasting, Kang-he conferred upon Verbiest and his ancestors, the title of Ta-jin—great man; equivalent to our—your excellency; and only applicable to the highest officers of state. No missionary was more honoured, and none of all his brethren had perhaps so well deserved of the state; for he was not only a mathematician,

but also a private counsellor; a man, in fact, who had the direction of the most intricate affairs. But our Lord says, "My kingdom is not of this world," and "How can you believe, which receive honour one from another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?"

Of the Frenchmen, the emperor principally delighted in the company of Gerbillon and Bouvet, his constant companions. Under his direction they learned the Mantchoo language, in order to enable them to instruct and converse with him more freely. When the Russian conquests were extended to the Chinese frontier, Gerbillon was used as mediator between those two powers. He accommodated the differences and returned to the sovereign, who now began most earnestly to study the European sciences, without neglecting state affairs, till he was enabled to publish a book upon geometry.

There was no province, which did not number several churches, for the Roman Catholic missionaries do not regard the quality, but the quantity of their converts; their conversion is not a change from death to life, from darkness to light, from slavery to the liberty of the Gospel, but a mere change of rites and forms. Thus they have converted thousands without touching the heart, the seat of all idolatry and moral

evil. We except a few converts to the lively faith in the Son of God, for God has every where those whom he calls his own, but the mass of the neophytes were only nominal converts.

Gerbillon had attended the emperor in his campaign in Tatary, and lived with him on the most intimate terms, when news of a persecution in Che-këang arrived. The viceroy of that province, an inveterate enemy of these new doctrines, had acted according to the prohibitory edict of 1669, and enacted penalties against all the professors of Christianity. Their churches were converted into temples, dedicated to the worship of the idols; the cross and altar images broke to pieces; their converts were cited before the tribunals and punished. One of them was a young man, who had just received baptism. He received the bastinado in lieu of his sponsor, who had been sentenced to undergo this punishment. Having been carried from the hall of justice to a place, where Intorcetta officiated, he presented himself as a sacrifice to the Lord, saying: "I am only grieved that I have not merited the grace of shedding the last drop of my blood for his holy name."

Prince So-san, a very influential man, addressed to the viceroy two letters of remonstrance, wherein he strongly condemned the

proceedings of his excellency. To avert the blow, the missionaries at Peking repaired to the palace, whither Kang-he had returned, and craved an audience. The emperor's answer was truly Chinese: "I am surprised," he said, "to see you so infatuated with your religion, and so busied with a world, in which you have not yet been. My advice is, that you enjoy the present life. Your God is surely uneasy about the pains which you give yourselves, and he is powerful enough to do himself justice, although you do not concern yourselves in his matters." But as faithful champions of the cross they remained in a humble posture at the palace gate, till the emperor promised them to write privately to the viceroy at Hang-choo concerning his unjust proceedings, and at the same time requested them to draw up a petition to the effect, that the prohibitory edict might be revoked. They followed his advice; the emperor himself corrected their petition to the Le-poo, or board of rites; sent it repeatedly to receive the sanction of this tribunal, but had the mortification to learn that the members, from very natural reasons, were loath to grant the prayer.

Notwithstanding the great power an emperor of China possesses to command, the Le-poo, in this one instance, though otherwise servile, refused to obey. However, some influential mem-

bers having been gained over, an edict, which allowed the exercise of the Christian religion, was obtained. The Jesuits rejoiced; but another more terrible tempest arose amongst themselves.

When Ricci had entered China, he thought it prudent to ingratiate himself by joining in the praises of the most popular—the Confucian system. He viewed the superstitions with too favourable an eye. In his opinion the Confucian creed contained the grand traits of the Christian doctrines; it only wanted some additions, and would then form an excellent foundation upon which the edifice of the Christian church could be erected. He permitted his servants to worship their ancestors, and had no objections that the literati, who had become Christians, should perform prostrations in honour of their patron sage Confucius. These and many other idolatrous rites he considered as mere political institutions, in which new converts might be indulged, without injury to their consciences as Christians.

Longobardi, who succeeded him, viewed these things in a quite different light. The visitor-general Paccio, had informed him, that the Jesuits in Japan did not suffer these superstitious rites in their converts. But in order to settle the point satisfactorily, he perused with great attention the Confucian writings, from which he ascer-

tained that the Chinese philosophers, in speaking of heaven, meant the material heavens,—the wide expanse,—the creative power of which overshadows the world with benign influence. The soul was an ethereal evanescent principle not endowed with immortality. He therefore strictly prohibited all the rites, which Ricci had tolerated, but the Chinese Christians refused to obey. A great part of the Jesuits adhered to the decision of Longobardi; the matter was referred to Rome, and after much tergiversation, the Chinese converts were allowed to practise these rites as mere civil institutions; still the point in question was not at all settled; even the infallible papal bulls lost their authority upon this critical subject.

In the meantime, the institution of foreign missions at Paris, established by Louis XIV., had sent forth very able missionaries. Mai-grat, a doctor of the Sorbonne, was sent to examine the matter on the spot. In opposition to the papal bulls, he condemned those rites; the directors of the foreign missions in Europe took the same view, and thus the fire of furious contention was lighted up. Even the doctors at Paris proscribed the practice of the Jesuits, and Pope Clement XI. finally resolved to send his legate, Tournon, to China, in order to accommodate matters. If self-interest

and hatred against the Jesuits had not tended to render the most simple thing intricate, the matter might have been very soon settled. Whatever the opinions of the ancient Chinese respecting Teën-lewen might have been, the present generation understand by it solely the material heaven. The worship they render to their ancestors is the same with the rites which they use in the service of the idols; Confucius is considered as a deified sage; for the Chinese, as well as the Roman Catholics, understand how to canonize their saints; the immortality of the soul is not acknowledged by any orthodox Chinese. At the same time it was very evident, that if these darling opinions of the Chinese were controverted, the number of converts would not only decrease, but government would also expel a religion, which sapped the fundamental institutions of the empire. Of these difficulties the doctors in Europe were not so well aware, as the missionaries on the spot.

Of all the opponents of the Jesuits, the Dominicans were the most virulent, and a Spaniard of the name of Navarette, having attacked them in a very acrimonious manner, was joined by a great number of his brethren. During this state of fermentation, Tournon arrived in China. He was a weak-minded man, and already prejudiced against the Jesuits, who nevertheless procured

him an audience with Kang-he. The emperor reprobated the idea of presuming to dictate laws in his own territories, whilst he recommended the Jesuits, as men the most able to decide upon such a difficult question, on account of their having remained so long a time in the country. He therefore ordered Tournon to quit China immediately. Meanwhile the final decision of Pope Clement XI., who highly disapproved of the laxity of the Jesuits, arrived in China, and Tournon published the bull prohibiting all Chinese Christians from following the idolatrous rites of their ancestors.

The minds of the Portuguese had been embittered against the papal legate by his not having embarked at Lisbon for India and China. He was arrested at Macao, and treated like an impostor. In vain he hurled the terrible ban of the Vatican against his opponents; this caused only more insult to his person, and he at length died in the country, without having effected his purpose.

The pope, however, fully approved of his proceedings; and in order to carry the point, commanded in his bull, that every missionary entering China should take an oath, whereby he pledged himself to act according to the statute and decision of the holy father. Yet, even these plain decisions were evaded, and the pope had

to send another legate—Mezza-barba. He had received instructions to petition for permission to remain in China, and to prevail upon Kang-he, to allow his subjects to conform to the decisions of the holy father. Kang-he could not grant the latter request, but to take away all scruples, he and a great number of learned Chinese declared, that the Chinese abstained from using the name of the Deity from feelings of deep veneration, and substituted for it "Heaven," just as the people used *court* and *palace* for emperor. As for the ancestral rites, these were only a token of kind and affectionate remembrance, expressive of true filial piety. Under these impressions, Mezza-barba mitigated the severity of the bull, and returned loaded with presents from the emperor, which were consumed by fire on their voyage to Europe. But these regulations, and the connivance of in favour of the Jesuits, were again revoked in 1742. On the accession of Yung-ching to the throne, Gotardo and Ildefonso were sent with the priests to the emperor. The missionaries had at that time been banished from the empire. They were charged to regain permission to stay in China; but Yung-ching was inexorable, and the whole matter ended here.

Kang-he seeing his efforts to conciliate the contending parties baffled, had recourse to

force. He banished Maigrot and Gueli, the heads of the opposite partisans, to Tatar, and required every missionary who entered his states, to subscribe a certain paper, wherein he pledged himself, to preach the same doctrine which Ricci had prescribed, and never to leave the empire. (1706).

Let us now view the Roman Catholic church in its most prosperous state. There were in Kéang-nan province more than 100 churches and 100,000 converts. The Portuguese possessed several houses at Peking, and had also built a separate house for the females, who, according to Chinese prejudice, were not permitted to mix promiscuously in the religious assemblies of the men, but who nevertheless professed such a zeal for the holy church, that they had given away their jewels in order to adorn its altars. But no church exceeded in beauty that built in the precincts of the imperial palace by the French Jesuits. This was a masterpiece of architecture, adorned with the finest paintings, descriptive of the Bible history. It had been partly erected by the munificence of the emperor Kang-he. The censors of the empire grudged the foreign priests so handsome a building, and therefore complained to the emperor, signifying their wish, that an edifice, which by far exceeded any other in the empire, yea, the

palace, in magnificence and chastity of architecture, should be razed to the ground. But the monarch informed them, that their duty consisted in attending to the business of their profession, leaving to him the management of public affairs.

There were more than 70 French Jesuit missionaries in the different provinces of the empire. Those at Peking baptized, in 1696, about 630 adults, besides a great number of infants, who were daily exposed in the streets of Peking. Those who were permitted to share the imperial friendship, lived in a room adjacent to the apartments which the emperor himself occupied. They were closely watched, and shut up during the whole day; the only persons they saw were some eunuchs and servants; their lives were subject to great fatigues; however, they lived under the genial influence of Heaven's son, and this was fully adequate to reconcile them to all privations. To give the missionaries an opportunity of becoming popular, the emperor appointed them to distribute rice, during the time of scarcity. But the services, which they rendered to the prince, were more than sufficient to repay his patronage. The greatest and most lasting service, was a survey of the whole empire, the fruit of many years' incessant labours, which engaged the most talented amongst the

missionaries. The author has had an opportunity of examining their maps of the maritime provinces of Chě-këang and Fuh-keën, and he found them extremely correct. But if the coast, and the situation, and shape of small islands, coincide with their maps, how much more will their delineation of the provinces of the interior vie in accuracy with any survey made during the last century?

But, notwithstanding their great services, the Jesuits were slandered. No doubt, they acted in China as in all other parts of the world, engrossing and usurping the authority, which belonged to the civil powers, and enslaving the minds of their votaries. Nevertheless, the accusations brought against them were often false. A mandarin at Canton had, in his younger days, visited the Indian archipelago. He sent a statement, the result of his voyages, to the emperor, in which he inveighs bitterly against the Europeans, whom he calls tigers and wolves, always ready to pounce upon their prey. He tells his sovereign, that these barbarians had made large conquests in India, whilst landing under the pretence of trading, and that China would very soon be conquered, if they were not kept within due bounds. To expose the dangers, which would accompany the introduction of Christianity, he reminds the emperor of

Japan, where civil wars were the immediate consequences of the growth of Christianity. This report was ratified by the tribunals at Peking, and an edict issued, prohibiting the spread of Christianity, and commanding the Chinese Christians to abjure their faith. All those missionaries who had not received the imperial letters patent, allowing them to reside in China, were to be sent to Canton, (1716.) Such was the result of all their endeavours to ingratiate themselves with high and low. Shortly afterwards, the emperor fell sick, and was restored by the skill of the Jesuits, which again raised their credit, but the suspicions excited in the hearts of the emperor and mandarins were never eradicated.

A young master of arts, who had become a Christian, was offended with the missionaries, two Spaniards, stationed in Fuh-choo-foo district, in which the capital of Fuh-keën is situated. He drew up a memorial, wherein he exposed the dangerous tendency of popery, which enjoined females to live and die virgins, and in its religious assemblies made no distinction between the two sexes. When this paper reached the viceroy of Fuh-keën, he gave immediate orders to investigate the matter; and it was found, upon examination, that there existed 16 churches; one other was then building;

and when the mandarin wanted to stop the work, which was to be dedicated to the worship of a false religion, the builders answered: "The Lord of Heaven is the Lord of all things, who ought not to respect and revere him?" The mandarin asked the reason, why they did not worship their ancestors, according to the ancient usages of their empire; upon which the Christians gave no answer, but referred him to their European teacher, from whom they had heard all these things. Indignant at the arrogance of the Christians, who set the old established, invariable laws at defiance, the viceroy proscribed the Christian religion throughout his jurisdiction. Not content with prohibiting Christianity in the provinces of Fuh-keën and Che-këang, he addressed a letter to the emperor, Yung-chin. The matter was decided by the Le-poo, "tribunal of rites,"—some members of which were in the interest of the missionaries, and might have given a favourable turn to the affair, if Yung-ching, a prince much prejudiced against Europeans, had not determined on their ruin. All missionaries, except those in the service of the court, were ordered to leave China; Christianity was denounced as a doctrine prejudicial to the welfare of the state, and it was resolved to cut it off root and branch. Thus, 300,000 Christians were deprived of their spiritual guides,

and exposed to the danger of relapsing into heathenism. Of the 300 churches, which then existed, some were pulled down, others converted into temples; and the greater part of the missionaries were loaded with contempt, and sent back to Canton. Notwithstanding the many intrigues of the Jesuits, and their great interest with two of the princes of the blood, this edict was executed to the letter, the poor missionaries arrived at Canton, without friend or support, and soon embarked for Macao.

So many reverses would have disheartened the most persevering characters; but there is in religion a consolation and confidence, which enables her votaries to triumph over all the changes in human life. The Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans, though animated by erroneous principles, have frequently withstood all the efforts of their enemies to expel them from the field of their labours. Besides, the Chinese edicts, though worded in the most pompous and expressive terms, exercise only a temporary influence, and are very soon forgotten or disregarded, unless their execution promotes the interest of the mandarins. Some of the missionaries re-entered China by stealth, others were called to the capital in order to serve the emperor; and thus the church gra-

dually recovered from the shock which had threatened its existence. However, they never more became as flourishing as they had been ; there arose no other Kang-he, nor did the imperial family again take any great interest in their doctrines. The missionaries had committed one great error—they had put their trust in princes, men of fickle passions, like themselves. This the word of God deprecates. Had they preached a crucified Saviour, our only hope in time, and for eternity—had they put their sole confidence in the living God—had they only preached the pure gospel, though the number of their converts might have been small, yet even the powers of hell would not have prevailed against Christ's church !

During the latter end of Kang-he's reign, some princes of the imperial family had been converted ; they showed themselves most decided Catholics. Some princesses, also, had become Christians ; and there was a chapel for their private use in the palace of their relations at Peking. Here the Fathers Suares and Mouram, Portuguese, said mass, and confessed their illustrious converts, of whom the female part amounted to fifty persons. After the prohibitory edicts had been promulged throughout the empire, the viceroy of Shan-se and Shen-se sent a memorial to the emperor Yung-ching,

wherein he accused the imperial relations of having adopted the Christian creed. When this was communicated to the princes, one of them exclaimed: "How well it is that we have entered at the proper time the sheep-fold of Christ; a little later, and the door would have been shut against us!" The head of the Christian family, who had not yet become a convert to popery, was cited before the imperial tribunal, and sentenced to a perpetual exile for alleged crimes. This was a hard stroke for an old, ambitious man; he therefore loaded his sons, who were all Christians, with chains, and gave orders that their chapel and images should be destroyed, in order to appease the wrath of the emperor; but to his extreme regret, his punishment was not mitigated, and the young princes were again set free. The whole family went into exile; but both the princes and princesses emulated each other who should be the most devoted to the religion they had embraced. Not satisfied with honouring their teachers by genuflexions, they prostrated themselves before them, kept vigils and frequent fasts, and carried with them into exile a great number of images and crosses, that they might be enabled to continue their devotions in the absence of their spiritual guides. Their submission to the mysterious ways of Providence is highly extolled

by the missionaries, who loved them as their spiritual children, and armed them with Christian patience.

In the year 1735 new accusations were sent in against the missionaries. The emperor examined their cause himself, but hated them too much to do them justice. Their refusing compliance to the ancestral rites greatly prejudiced the imperial mind against the Christian doctrines. They were also accused of stealing the children who were daily exposed in the streets; and the Chinese catechists, who were engaged in the charitable work of saving the lives of these innocents, were cruelly treated, and would have been sentenced to death if the Chinese president had not interfered. Several placards, which proscribed the Christian religion, and threatened heavy punishments to the contumacious confessors, were stuck up in the capital. These orders were promulgated throughout the whole empire, and spread consternation amongst the missionaries, who had again become numerous. The native Christians were now cited before the tribunals, and suffered severe punishments for having embraced a proscribed religion. Great numbers apostatized; but others suffered with Christian patience, and submitted willingly to all the indignities heaped upon them. The missionaries

could never forget, that by the last edict they were debarred the opportunity of procuring the salvation of infants, by baptizing them. It had been declared at the Council of Trent, that children baptized at the point of death were to be saved, and therefore they considered it a most meritorious action to save these little ones from eternal perdition by baptism, and to fill Heaven with millions of unpolluted souls.

The Christian family, which we have already mentioned, was recalled in 1738, and remained constant in the profession of their faith. In Hoo-kwang, the number of Christians increased; and though two of their teachers were thrown into prison at Canton, the cause lost nothing; for others, more zealous than they, arrived to take their place. But it required a particular cast of mind in the missionaries, to live for whole days and years shut up in a retired spot, or hovel, for the mere satisfaction of saying mass, and teaching a few poor people to pray by the rosary; for in this the occupation of the greater part of the missionaries consisted. A Jesuit, Neuville, writes, in the year 1740, from the mountains of Hoo-kwang: "I have this year celebrated the canonization of Francis Regis, whom I have chosen for the patron of our mountains: may he condescend to work the same miracles here as he did formerly in the

mountains of France, and take us under his protection. The whole was done very much to the edification of those present. The entire night was passed in prayers and instructions ; for, with prudence, I can only assemble the Christians during the night. A great image of the saint was exposed to view ; people chanted the litanies which I had composed in honour of him ; three sermons were also delivered—one upon confession, the other upon the eucharist, and the third, a panegyric upon the saint. After mass, I distributed medals and images of the saint, which I had previously, with great ceremonies, blessed, in order to create that respect which is due to him. I also distributed some copies of the bull which grants to them indulgence, which I had translated into their language, and to which I had annexed a short explication." After having described the wretched state in which he found himself, he adds : " I often visit the sick. The Christians do not forsake their sick people till their last breath. During all this time, the sick are exhorted in the most touching manner ; and they pray most fervently before a crucifix," &c. A great deal of his time was spent in instructing the youth in the rites of the holy church, and rewarding them with crucifixes, chaplets, medals, and images. The lives of the Christians he describes as very

saint-like. Iron girdles, and other instruments of penance, were of common use amongst them; they did not only keep the fasts prescribed by the church, but also fasted on Wednesday, in honour of St. Joseph, the patron saint of China; on Friday, in honour of the passion of our Lord; and on Saturday, in honour of the holy virgin, for whom they cherished the most tender devotion. "If I had the means of founding a monastery, it would very soon be filled by fervent virgins. There are several married people, who live like brothers and sisters. Moreover, they do not consider these mortifications of the flesh as very meritorious; but often request, after the confessions they have made, that their penitence might consist in fasting and discipline. When the host is raised, they all prostrate themselves, in order to adore the seven wounds of the Lord. In their houses they have an image, before which they recite the prayers they have learnt by heart." A Portuguese missionary, in the same province, who possessed large funds to maintain many catechists, baptized, within one year, 600 heathen. And the fervour of these new converts was so great, that a young woman, who had been baptized, being ignorant of the days of Lent, did not eat any meat at all throughout the year. This is a description of the most flourishing state of a church: the reader ex-

claims, perhaps, with Huss,—*O sancta simplicitas!* In Pih-chih-le, and Mantchoo Tatar, there were about this time 35,000 Christians, so ineffectual had the imperial edicts, for the suppression of a foreign creed, proved.

At the death of Yung-ching, the missionaries congratulated themselves in the hope of finding a more gracious sovereign in Keën-lung, his successor; but they were very much deceived in their fond anticipation. He made the utmost search after the promoters of popery, and sentenced five missionaries to suffer death. The storm rose in Fuh-keën. The Chinese acted in this case with all the ferocity of inquisitors, in citing five Spanish priests before them, besides a great number of native Christians, and amongst them several nuns, (1746.) As the emperor commanded and encouraged these persecutions, the Chinese provincial governments might have vied with their Spanish friends in inflicting torture, if this diabolical science had not been unknown in China. But notwithstanding their rudeness in the art of tormenting their fellow-creatures, the mandarins behaved most brutally towards these poor sufferers. Even the church of father Neuville, in the mountains of Hoo-kwang, was not exempted from persecution. This missionary had, during his stay in these regions baptized, about 6000 individuals, who in

his estimation bore the strictest resemblance to the primitive churches, according to the description we have copied ; but he was obliged with many of his brethren in other provinces, to retreat to Macao. After his departure, tortures, bastinadoes, and prisons were employed to disperse his flock, which he had nursed with such a fondness. What most disturbed their consciences was, that the images and crucifixes, the objects of their adoration, were trodden upon by the infidels, while no avenger appeared. Even Macao was not free from persecution. The viceroy issued an order to the Chinese to leave the place instantly, but this edict was never followed up. At Peking several Christians apostatized ; and their rosaries, chaplets, relics, and images, were burnt. One of the Italian missionaries, Castiglioni, a painter in the service of the emperor, interceded in behalf of the Christians, but received a discouraging answer. The emperor confirmed the sentence of the viceroy of Fuh-keën ; some of the missionaries were to be beheaded, others to be strangled. Whilst the Christian women repeated the rosary, the men went to the place of execution to gather some precious relics from the blood which flowed for the cause of their faith. Even the heathens were struck with the constancy and cheerfulness with which the missionaries suffered. Kë-

ang-nan alone was excepted from these cruel persecutions, for a great many Christians there were in the tribunals of justice, and therefore prevented the legal prosecutions.

After this horrible catastrophe the fury of the enemies of Christianity relaxed. The missionaries at Peking were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and entertained particular congregations, in order to establish them in the faith. There was a congregation of the heart of Jesus,—of the holy virgin, and of penitence; the object of the latter, was not only to do penance for their own sins, but also for the transgressions of others, in order to prevail upon the Lord by these meritorious works, to show favour towards so many infidels, who did not know, or who blasphemed his name.

The hostility shown against Christianity, was at last principally confined to the bishops. One of them, the bishop of Mauricastre, whose canonization was proposed at Rome, was led to the place of execution, in order to be beheaded. A heathen was bribed to strew some ashes upon the place, where the bishop had to suffer, that they might obtain his precious blood. The man employed in this service was instantly converted, and preached to his family, who shortly afterwards received baptism. But popery in China cannot boast, that the blood of the

martyrs was the seed of the church ; for after this persecution, the number of Christians decreased rapidly, and their fervour cooled. Yet they might have been kept in a better state, if the order of Jesuits had not been abolished in Europe. This was a death-blow. The Jesuits had furnished the most useful and subtle missionaries, who had served as painters, mathematicians, and mechanics at court ; where they had always found means to gain over some of the Chinese grandees ; but after the extinction of this order, few talented men entered the sphere of their labours. The remnant of those who remained, complained most bitterly of the general ruin of the churches ; but there was no remedy ; the veterans died, and the recruits were less enthusiastic for the cause, which their predecessors had espoused.

The government of Macao, fearing to involve itself in difficulties with the mandarins, refused admittance to any missionary, who was not a subject of Portugal, or who had not obtained a licence from the court at Lisbon, to proceed to China. This regulation would have put a stop to the arrival of new labourers, if the agents of the Propaganda Fide at Canton, had not received those, who arrived in that part, and furnished them the means of proceeding to their respective destinations. They employed to that

end several Chinese, who conducted the missionaries to their stations. In one of these expeditions, the European, as well as his conductor, were betrayed by a Christian, and sent to Peking, where they were accused of leaguings with the Mohammedans in Turkestan, with whom the Chinese were at war. Search was made after those who lived in disguise in the provinces; they were taken and imprisoned, whilst their Chinese coadjutors fled for their lives. Having sustained a lingering imprisonment, twelve missionaries were liberated, three of whom remained at Peking, the other nine returned to Canton, 1785.

Amidst all these troubles, the French missions in Sze-chuen began to flourish. There had been a year of scarcity, and the missionaries had baptized about 100,000 infants, who were upon the point of death. Pottiers, the apostolical vicar of this province, wrote to France, in order to obtain more labourers, funds for books, and a store of crucifixes and images, which might be presented to the new converts, in lieu of the idols they had thrown away. He also promoted female schools, and used every means to establish the youth in the doctrines of the church. But even in this retired place a persecution broke out in 1785. Several soldiers were sent to arrest Saint Martin, a bishop, and when they

found him in a forest, he was dragged with a chain round his neck before the mandarin. Here he had to undergo a strict examination, and was afterwards sent to Peking, where the missionaries, his brethren, assisted him most nobly. He could only regret that all the implements to celebrate mass, and the holy oil, had been taken from him by force. This loss he considered more irreparable than even that of his life. In the capital, where he was imprisoned with some of his brethren, he testified of Jesus Christ before the mandarins—a noble testimony, worthy to be recorded! Of the same nature are the answers of Gleyo, when he was dragged before a tribunal to give an account of his doctrines, and of the reasons which had induced him to come to China. If the dross was taken away, and we could separate these noble men from the greater number of popish champions, we might find many a genuine confessor of his Saviour; but the day of judgment will reveal it. Gleyo was particularly anxious to baptize infants; his imprudence in performing this rite brought him repeatedly into trouble, and he had finally to seek an asylum in the country of the Lolo tribe, situated to the south of Yun-nan; but even here he made converts and established a church.

When finally the French revolution succeed-

ed, and the pope was deprived of his worldly possessions, the mission in China languished, for want of labourers and funds. On the other side, Keën-lung had grown more lenient, and did not persecute them with all the rancour of his younger years, When Këa-king began to sway the sceptre of China, great hopes were entertained that he would favour the Christians, but he did not yield in point of cruelty to Keën-lung, while he had none of his redeeming qualities,—a pretext for a new persecution was very soon furnished. Two missionaries, one an Italian, the other a Portuguese, engaging in a quarrel about their diocese, to settle the point in question, sent a map of their respective parishes to Europe. This map was intercepted by the Chinese, who declared the author a traitor to the celestial empire, and sent him into exile in Tatary. The persecution against the Christians commenced, and under trivial pretexts they were sent into exile, and most severely punished. In 1811, the Italian missionaries left Peking; the French and Portuguese still remained, hoping for better times; but these did not happen; and even the meritorious L'Amiot was expelled, after a long stay at court. Verissimo Monteiro de Serra, elect bishop of Peking, was sent to Macao, after having been a member of the tribunal of mathe-

matics. If we are not mistaken, there remain only two Portuguese at present in the Peking mission. Këa-king even sentenced a French bishop to death; but his successor, Taou-kwang, has never shown any hostility towards the missionaries.

As soon as peace was restored in Europe, the Roman Catholic missionary institution in Italy and France again began to flourish, and new labourers arrived, as well from France as from Italy and Spain. The former have their most flourishing missions in Sze-chuen, the latter in Fuh-keën. Great numbers of French missionaries have lately penetrated into China, but they are far inferior to their predecessors, and their principal work consists in reading mass. We have heard of no new persecution.

When the author was at Fuh-choo, in 1832, he received several applications from native Christians, who, according to the statement of the mandarin of the district, are very numerous. They are generally poor and ignorant people, who, if they can afford it, wear a cross round their neck. The missionaries have supplied them with crucifixes and pictures, which they showed to the writer. They also possess a calendar, which points out to them the festivals and saint's-days of the Romish church; but be-

yond this their knowledge does not extend. It was rather surprising to see that they opposed the promulgation of the pure Gospel amongst the heathens, whom they decried as an ignorant, forsaken race, unworthy of so great a gift.

Këa-king's relentless persecution extended to all classes. In 1817, a Tatar public secretary and his coachman were apprehended, and delivered over to the board of punishments. Fifteen persons were implicated, and most of them held government offices. Taou-kwang, when he speaks about false sects, never mentions the Teën-choo-këaou—Roman Catholics. We know very little of his character; but he seems to be a very peaceful man, who leaves the administration of government to his officers, but does not disturb a sect, which has never risen up in rebellion against their lawful sovereign.

To furnish the missions with labourers, there are, at Macao, Naples, and Lisbon, institutions, where Chinese youth, as well as Europeans are educated for the work. But no school sends forth so many labourers, as the Parisian seminary. Charles X., a devoted son of the Romish church, spent great sums in behalf of the propagation of popery, but we do not know how the present government views this institu-

tion ; neither are we able to give a full account of the existing state of the missions, this being studiously withheld from public notice.

In the above detail, we have endeavoured to be impartial ; we despise, with all our heart, bigotry and intolerance, wherever they may be found. But we sincerely hope, that, henceforth, the Roman Catholic missionaries may emulate the Protestants, in preaching Christ crucified, as the power of God unto salvation, to all who believe in him.*

We have not been able to procure a statement of the missions. The number of Christians is very considerable, as many French missionaries came to Macao, and successively entered China ; but the present governor of Macao, apprehensive of the Chinese government, has interdicted their stay, and ordered them to leave the place.

As the most correct account we are able to furnish, we quote some passages of Staunton's notices relating to China. The missions of China are divided into three dioceses and three apostolical vicarages. The first, in Macao, Peking, and Nanking. The nomination to these episcopal sees, which are suffragans to the arch-

* See Du Halde, London edition, in 4to, vol. ii. *Lettres Edifiantes*—Contribution to an Historical Sketch of the Portuguese Settlements in China, &c.

bishop of Goa, belongs to the king of Portugal, who has endowed them, by giving an allowance, of about 1500 dollars to each, per annum.

The diocese of Macao comprehends the two provinces of Kwang-tung, and Kwang-se, and the isle of Haenan. In the latter were, formerly, many Christians,—the author has seen many himself,—but there is no missionary station. In Kwang-se there are some Christians, on the borders of Tunkin, but they are more numerous in the province of Canton.

The diocese of Peking includes the provinces Pih-chih-le, Shan-tung, and Lëaou-tung. The two provinces, Këang-nan and Honan, form the diocese of Nanking, but this diocese having, since 1787, had no bishop is, at present, administered by the bishop of Peking.

The three vicarages are Shan-se, Sze-chuen, and Fuh-keën. The apostolic vicars, who are usually bishops *in partibus*, are named by the cardinals of the Congregation of the Propaganda, upon which they depend, and are immediately subject to the Holy See. The apostolical vicar of Shan-se is usually an Italian, and has the care of the Christians of Kan-suh, Shan-se, Shen-se, and Hoo-kwang; and is supported and maintained by the Propaganda, as well as all the other missionaries of this vicarage, except the three Lazarists of Hoo-kwang, who

receive their pension from the French church at Peking. The apostolical vicar of Sze-chuen is a Frenchman, belonging to the seminary at Paris, from which he receives his pension, like the other missionaries of this vicarage. A Spanish Dominican has the care of the missions of Fuh-keën, and resides usually at Macao.

The apostolical vicar of Fuh-keën, has the care of the Christians of Che-këang, and Këang-se also, and is maintained by the king of Spain, as are the Dominicans, who labour in this mission.

The Propaganda, and the seminary at Paris, expend each, from 7000 to 8000 dollars, for their respective missions.

PROTESTANTS.

The power of the pure and glorious Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ will surely prevail over all the strong-holds of Satan ; and China, though long debarred from the knowledge of truth, will adore the Redeemer. The omniscient God alone knows the time and season when this great event will occur ; but doubtless the way is preparing, and perhaps at hand. True Christianity claims the world for its operation ; it unites all nations in one ; imparts true nobility to human

nature, and is adapted to all climes and countries.

When the churches in England, during the latter part of the last century, aroused from that indifference with which they had hitherto seen millions of their fellow-creatures dying in idolatry, they also turned their attention towards China. The choice of the directors of the London Missionary Society fell upon the Rev. (now Dr.) Morrison, who had studied in Hoxton Academy, with a view to the ministry at home; but being fully convinced of the deplorable state of the heathen world, he was willing to go to any quarter of the globe where the Gospel was not yet known. With this view he entered the missionary seminary at Gosport. After having obtained a Latin-Chinese Dictionary, and "the Harmony of the Four Gospels" in Chinese, from the British Museum, he sailed, in 1807, by way of America, for Canton, accompanied by the prayers of thousands. He landed in the September of the same year at Macao, and created a good deal of suspicion among the Romish clergy. In Canton, he lived during that season in a godown, where he studied, ate, and slept. He let his nails grow, that they might be like those of the Chinese, wore a tail, and became an adept in the use of chopsticks. In the factory, he walked about in a Chinese frock, and

wore Chinese shoes. But seeing that his wish to conform to the prejudices of the natives had not the desired effect of conciliating their affection, he abandoned their costume and dressed like a European. Very soon afterwards he was introduced to Sir George Staunton, a member of the British factory, and became by his means acquainted with Mr. Roberts, the chief. As it was Mr. Morrison's principal object to translate the Scriptures into Chinese, Mr. Roberts, on his death-bed, remarked: "I see not why your translating the sacred Scriptures into the Chinese language might not be avowed, if occasion called for it. We (the members of the factory) could with reason answer the Chinese thus:—"This volume we deem the best of books." It was in a somewhat similar way that the British ambassador at the court of Persia introduced a copy of the New Testament to the notice of the Persian monarch. The arrival of some troops from Bengal in 1808, in order to garrison Macao, put him under the necessity of leaving Canton. He had during all this time studied Chinese, both the Canton and mandarin dialects, and even offered up his private prayers to the Almighty in that language. Shortly afterwards he was nominated Chinese translator to the British Factory, which situation greatly facilitated the accomplishment of his views. He now

began to have on Sunday a religious meeting at his house with some few Chinese, highly delighted at the feeble beginnings in so great a work. Having ascertained that a copy of the Acts of the Apostles, which he had brought out with him, was perfectly intelligible, he printed it, and completed also a Chinese Grammar, with the Gospel of St. Luke, in 1810-11. Thus he went on gradually, and printed the New Testament in parts, till the British and Foreign Bible Society voted three hundred pounds towards the translating, printing, and circulating of the sacred Scriptures in China. The Roman Catholic missionaries had spent more than two centuries in China, and amongst them there were many who understood the Chinese language thoroughly and wrote elegantly. They have published the lives of saints, their scholastic divinity, and other works, but never ventured upon translating the oracles of God, and making them intelligible to so many millions. If they were preachers of the Gospel, and apostolical missionaries, why did they not make known the Gospel and the apostolical doctrines? If they were champions of the saints and the Pope, why did they not declare themselves such in China, and prevent the gross error of miscalling popery the Gospel? When they were once asked by the Pope himself to translate

one Gospel, as a mere specimen of Chinese literature, they pleaded the absolute impossibility of such an undertaking, and nevertheless could find words and phrases to translate the abstruse Thomas Aquinas! Whatever may be the opinions of the enemies of the word of God upon this subject, Dr. Morrison considered it his duty to follow the Saviour's command, by making known the Gospel without human alloy. The author has found no work of any importance, which can be translated with so great ease into a foreign idiom, as the Holy Bible—a book given for all nations of the earth, in the most simple form possible. Dr. Morrison endeavoured to imitate in the translation the most approved works of the Chinese, but could not introduce the style of the classics, which is too concise, and without commentaries, unintelligible to the natives themselves. During the years 1813 and 1814, he undertook the instruction of four orphan boys, both in their native language and the principles of Christianity. As the Chinese prize education, and have made literary acquirements the road to office, the establishment of schools has since proved very beneficial to the promotion of Christianity.

In 1813, the London Missionary Society sent Dr. Morrison a worthy and indefatigable fellow-labourer in the Rev. William, afterwards Dr.

Milne. He landed at Macao, but was ordered away by the governor. Disinterested persons highly reprobated such an inhospitable measure, which is so much at variance with the law of nations, and in direct opposition to the spirit of Christianity. He therefore went to Canton, where he could remain and study the Chinese language, without being disturbed by the Chinese government. Dr. Morrison had in the meanwhile written several tracts upon the doctrines of Christianity; by the perusal of one, "The Redemption of the World," a wretch, who had formerly been a Roman Catholic, was reclaimed from his vicious life. He had also the great satisfaction of giving the New Testament to the largest nation of the world in their own language. In this work he had been greatly assisted by a manuscript translation of the Acts, and some of Paul's Epistles.

To carry on the work with more success, Mr. Milne went, in the following year, to Batavia, where many thousand settlers, principally from Fuh-keën, had fixed their abode. On board of the vessel which conveyed him, he found several hundreds of Chinese emigrants, to whom he gave the New Testament. He also touched at Banca, which is almost entirely peopled by Chinese miners, and distributed amongst them several copies of tracts and of the Scriptures. On his

arrival at Batavia, he was received in a friendly manner by a Dutch minister and another missionary, who laboured amongst the Malays. Governor Raffles viewed every judicious attempt to spread the knowledge of Christianity as tending to improve the state of civil society, and to render government prosperous and stable. Hence he furnished Mr. Milne with the means of travelling, at the expense of government, through the interior and eastern parts of the island; and proposed to afford him facilities for visiting Pontianak, Sambas, and Banjermassin, on the island of Borneo, where many myriads of Chinese are settled; but this proposal could not be carried into execution, on account of the wars, which shortly afterwards broke out. However, Mr. Milne made arrangements to furnish those settlements with tracts. He also visited the island of Madura; and spread throughout the whole of Java many thousand tracts and New Testaments. It is possible, he remarks, that some of them may have been destroyed, some of them neglected, some of them never read, some of them sold for gain, and some parts of them only imperfectly understood; yet he was not discouraged by any of these considerations; for he thought, if one-tenth, yea, one-hundredth part, should, in the course of a century to come, answer the great end proposed, the heavy ex-

pense, which the Christian public had been at, in preparing, printing, and circulating them, would be more than amply repaid. On his return, he visited Malacca, and spread there the knowledge of divine truth; whilst he provided Rhio, Bintang, Tringano, and Siak, with Christian tracts.

When he arrived at Macao, a second edition of the New Testament was published, in a more portable form; and, in 1815, the first Chinese convert, Tsae-a-ko, was baptized. His written confession, respecting himself, is as follows:

“Jesus, making atonement for us, is the blessed sound. Language and thought are both inadequate to exhaust the gracious and admirable goodness of Jesus; and I rely on his merits to obtain the remission of sin. I have sins and defects; and, without faith in Jesus for the remission of sin, should be eternally miserable. Now that we have heard of the forgiveness of sins through Jesus, we ought, with all our hearts, to rely on his merits. He who does not do so, is not a good man. I by no means rely upon my own goodness. When I reflect, and question myself, I perceive that from childhood till now I have had no strength, no merit, no learning. Till this, my twenty-seventh year, I have done nothing to answer to the goodness of God in giving me existence in

this world as a human being. I have not recompensed the kindness of my parents, my relations, my friends. Shall I repine, shall I hope in my good deeds? I entirely call upon God the Father, and rely upon God for the remission of sin. I also always pray to God to confer upon me the Holy Spirit."

Nearly at the same time, two other persons, the one a teacher of the Chinese language, and the other a writer, who had both attended Dr. Morrison's instructions, gave such an account of their views of Christianity as would, in the eyes of most Christians, have justified their being baptized; but it was thought better to be backward, and err on the side of caution, rather than on that of haste in dispensing baptism.

From his first arrival in China, Dr. Morrison had been preparing materials for a dictionary of the Chinese language. The printing of this work was undertaken by the Honourable East India Company, on the scale of liberality which generally characterises the operations of this opulent and distinguished body.

Drs. Morrison and Milne finally resolved upon establishing a permanent central station of missions at Malacca. This mission was also to embrace the Malay branch, and to co-operate in any way towards the spread of the Gospel in Siam and the Indian Archipelago, (1815). Here

Milne began to prosecute the system of education which has since constituted the basis of our Protestant missions. After the establishment of the mission at Malacca, many opportunities of circulating the holy Scriptures and religious tracts presented themselves ; not only in the settlement itself, but also by means of native trading vessels, and passengers to Cochin-China, China, Siam, and almost every Chinese colony in the Malayan Archipelago.

The Chinese, who have settled in the Indian Archipelago, came from the south-western parts of Fuh-keën, from the eastern part of Canton, from the district of Kea-ying, in Canton, and from the provincial city itself. Their respective dialects vary considerably ; but the Fuh-keën is most generally understood. This variety of dialects greatly embarrassed the first missionaries who entered the field.

The following year, a monthly magazine, and several religious works, were issued from the Malacca press. Indeed, this institution has proved the means of transmitting the knowledge of saving truth throughout the Indian Archipelago, by the works which were constantly published and dispersed. A Chinese, of the name of Afā, afterwards a most decided Christian and follower of the Saviour, was baptized here by Mr. Milne.

Dr. Morrison, in the meanwhile, accompanied the English embassy to Peking, and had an ample opportunity of making himself acquainted both with the spirit of the government and of the people.

In 1817, Milne visited China ; and projected, with Dr. Morrison, a plan for the establishment of an Anglo-Chinese college, where Chinese and English youth should enjoy the advantages of learning the Chinese and English languages. They also divided amongst themselves the translation of the remaining part of the Old Testament ; and in order to give a more general interest to the mission, Mr. Milne set on foot the Indo-Chinese Gleaner, a quarterly publication of a miscellaneous nature, but containing the most valuable remarks upon Chinese usages, literature, and government.

In 1817, many labourers arrived at Malacca. To promote the general interests of the mission, new stations were established at Pulo Penang, Singapore, and Batavia. The unwearied Dr. Milne, was not only anxious to show his love for the immortal souls of the Chinese, but he also thought of their poor and wretched persons. To provide in some degree for these, he established a Samaritan society, composed of Chinese and the members of the mission, whose duty it was to bestow paternal care upon the help-

less, sick, and aged. This society has done incalculable good, and since his death, a wealthy Chinese has carried on the benevolent work till this day.

The Anglo-Chinese college very soon numbered 26 students, nearly all of them Malacca born Chinese youths. It required great care and perseverance to instruct them. The Malay language being their mother tongue, they understand the Chinese only partially, and have, therefore, to be instructed in the rudiments of the Chinese and English languages, before they can acquire any knowledge. The college formed by degrees a large and excellent library, and the missionaries made frequent use of the books collected. It is only to be regretted that so laudable an institution, which is so well calculated to promote a more liberal intercourse between remote China and the western nations, should have met with so little support from the Christian and literary public in India, Europe, and America. No person, but he who has been on the spot, can form an adequate idea of the difficulties, which must be encountered in the instruction of Chinese youth. They are receiving, up to the present moment, a religious and (so far as they are capable) a scientific education. Many of those lads have been usefully employed in life: one of them has gone to Peking as

translator of western languages to the board of rites ; others have been employed in instructing their fellow-countrymen, or as writers in commercial houses. The good seeds sown in the hearts of so many youths, who have studied in the college since its foundation, will surely germinate hereafter, and bring forth fruit an hundred fold.

The excellent Milne, whose whole life was dedicated to his Saviour, whose talents were surprising, whose labours incessant, did not live to see the fruits of his exertions ; he died in 1822. The Chinese mission suffered by his death an irreparable loss ; though the schools at Malacca (distinct from the college, for instruction in Chinese only,) were increased, and the preaching to the heathen continued. Another eminent labourer, Collie, died when he had acquired a pretty correct knowledge of the Chinese language, and had written several excellent treatises. Others returned home ; a few left the mission. By the laudable exertions of a Christian lady, several female schools have been opened, and a few English ladies have acquired a knowledge of the Chinese language, in order to superintend them.

The Chinese mission at Penang has often languished for want of labourers, and the Chinese emigrants of that place have never shown any

great interest in the saving doctrines of the Gospel.

Singapore presents ample scope for missionary exertion. More than 6000 emigrants are settled there, and a great number of Chinese junks from Fuh-keën, Canton, Cochin-China, and Siam, visit the port annually. The missionaries have availed themselves of this opportunity, and preached the Gospel to many thousands, whilst they have sent the printed Word of God to the most distant parts of the globe. In Rhio, a neighbouring Dutch settlement, the Gospel has been preached to the numerous Chinese planters on the Bintang island. During the residence of a missionary of the Netherland Missionary Society, two schools existed. He built also a large hospital, to which the resident Chinese very liberally contributed.

At Batavia, the mission has been most vigorously carried on by Mr. Medhurst, an indefatigable missionary, who preaches and distributes tracts throughout the whole island; the author has been witness of his unwearied zeal. He has travelled also into the island of Bali, and penetrated to the gold-mines of Pontianak in Borneo, where a small Chinese republic exists. He also spread the word of life on the east coast of the Malayan peninsula, and where one of

the first labourers works still with youthful ardour in the cause of the Lord.

But no sphere of the Chinese missionary operations was so successful as the Bangkok station, in the capital of Siam. This place is inhabited by several myriads of Chinese, the greater part of whom are natives of the east coast of Canton. On their arrival, the missionaries were ordered away by the king, and the distribution of their books prohibited. But these restrictions only served to enhance the value of their books, of which they had imported a great quantity. As they possessed some knowledge of medicine, the government was very soon reconciled to their stay, and even courted their friendship. From the commencement, till latterly, this has, perhaps, been the most flourishing station. The candidates for baptism were very numerous; amongst them was a man of the name of Bun-tae, who, after having received baptism, preached the Gospel with great fervour to his countrymen, and continues to adorn his profession. It was not advisable to increase the number of baptized converts, upon the many applications which were made by the Chinese; true conversion is the work of time, and the New Testament teaches us to look up to the Holy Spirit, who alone can effect this wonderful change. Yet the

harvest in this extensive vineyard will doubtless be great, when new labourers enter to do the work of faithful evangelists.

At Canton, Dr. Morrison, the worthy senior of the mission, who devoted his time and property to the service of his God, and compiled a large Anglo-Chinese dictionary, has carried on the work gradually. An American mission has likewise been established, in this provincial city. The senior missionary publishes the Chinese Repository, a monthly periodical, which is very valuable, and he teaches several Chinese boys, who have made considerable progress in the knowledge of Christianity. A Chinese monthly periodical has also been lately issued. There are ten native converts,—truly a small number,—but their minister Afă, a fervent Christian, spreads the Gospel and Christian books, in his native district, with very great success. Lately, the work has greatly prospered, and the co-operation of Christians in England, as well as in America, is considerable.

It is now about three years since the first attempts to promulgate the pure Gospel, in the maritime provinces, on the east coast of Canton, Fuh-keën, Che-këang, Keang-soo, Shan-tung, Pih-chih-le, Leaou-tung, Formosa, Korea, and Loo-choo, were made; first in a Chinese junk, and then in European vessels. These endea-

vours have been, beyond expectation, crowned with success; the number of books which has been circulated, amongst greedy readers, is very considerable, amounting to many thousands. The Chinese government has never interfered. His present majesty, Taou-kwang, requested a copy of all books written upon the pure doctrines of the Gospel; these have been forwarded to him, and he has acknowledged, in the Peking gazette, the receipt of them, without disapproving of the distribution. Both the kings of Loo-choo and Korea, have received the Scriptures, and tracts upon a variety of subjects. Though it would not be very difficult to effect a missionary establishment, if the trade to the northern ports of China be thrown open, there is at present a great want of able labourers, to enter into this extensive vineyard. But, as the American churches are sending forth preachers of the Gospel to these regions, it is to be hoped, that there will be very soon a great number of men, willing to devote their lives to the service of their Redeemer.*

* Milne's Retrospect.—Reports of the Anglo-Chinese College.—Chinese Repository.

CHAPTER XX.

FOREIGN INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA.

A nation so completely isolated by natural boundaries from all intercourse with foreigners, is naturally prone to view other nations in a false light. Puffed up by their national vanity, and considering their Tatar neighbours as mere savages, they conclude that all other nations of the earth must be barbarians. Their high ideas respecting China, as being situated at the centre of the earth, surrounded by the four seas, gradually created the belief, that the middle kingdom was the only country deserving their notice. All other parts of the earth were mere islands, scattered around the celestial empire, inhabited by barbarous tribes, and ruled by petty chiefs. The emperor's presumption of thinking himself entitled to the name of Heaven's Son—Teen-tsze, because he was the political vicegerent of the azure heavens, engendered in the breast of every true Chinese the opinion, that they themselves

were the lords of the globe. After having subjected to their rule some Tatar tribes, they very soon presumed upon their strength, and nominally considered all nations as their vassals. According to their principles, the whole earth bowed submissively to the great emperor, the prince of princes : if any nation did not virtually acknowledge their sway, it was through the mere forbearance of their liege lords, that they did not force them to subjection. But woe unto the nation which called in question the authority of the celestial supremacy, or disobeyed the son of heaven. They ought to be extirpated, for resisting the will of heaven. China being the only place where civilisation exists, all other kingdoms are under the influence of barbarism ; if they wish to improve, they ought first to experience the transforming influence of the celestial empire. Not being renovated by the illustrious patterns of Chinese sages, how could they lay any claim to science and virtue.

These high-flown notions might be considered harmless, as long as they were not followed up ; but unhappily for the barbarians, the Chinese government has invariably treated foreigners according to these notions. Even to this present moment of general diffusion of knowledge, the Chinese government adheres to these antiquated ideas, and views all foreigners with the

utmost contempt. You are outside-barbarians; keep your proper rank as such, and submissively prostrate yourselves before heaven's son! Only in those few cases, where the Chinese have been forced to receive foreign ambassadors upon terms of equality, or intimidated by force of arms, have they treated them becomingly. To negotiate with the Chinese government according to the rules of European diplomacy is quite out of the question; for, until humiliated by defeat and terror the attempt will always be a failure.

China maintained, even before our era, a constant intercourse with the Tatar states, in the north, west, and east. They had always some commercial dealings with these unruly neighbours, and even went to settle amongst them. Tatar troops entered the imperial service—Tatar princes married imperial princesses, and many tribes have gradually amalgamated with the inhabitants of the western and northern provinces. The affinity between the two nations is so very close, that after a few generations the characteristics of both are nearly lost, and Tatars may become Chinese, or *vice versa*, without materially changing their nationality. But the Chinese, as the more civilized part, are decidedly the gainers; they are a prolific and industrious nation, who very soon force the rude tribes by dint of mental superiority back to their deserts,

or enter with them into matrimonial alliances, so that they are very soon lost amongst the millions of China. Notwithstanding the regulations of the present Tatar family, they cannot keep up the purity of Tatar blood; and the Tatars, dispersed in the provinces, dwindle away amongst the vanquished race whom they have conquered, and will be within a few generations as little recognised as their predecessors the Mongols, who settled in China.

Korea was doubtless originally peopled by the Chinese. This peninsula, separated from Leaou-tung and Mantchoo Tatary by a river and mountains, has seldom been independent of China. Though the country never constituted a province of the empire, the Korean kings were regarded as the mere vassals of the son of heaven. As long as the Chinese princes were powerful, the Korean kings acknowledged them as their liege lords, and could not reign over their own people without a special installation in all their royal dignities, sent by the great emperor. The present Mantchoo family keeps the Koreans in utter subjection. Their king has to send thrice in the year an ambassador, who is treated with contempt, but indemnified by being permitted to trade at the capital. He cannot even raise a female to be queen without

having received permission from the emperor. The Koreans retaliate by watching the Chinese ambassador narrowly during his stay in their dominion, but nevertheless dread his presence, and will blindly follow what he orders them.

Tung-king (or Tonquin), as well as Gan-nan (Cochin-China), have maintained a certain degree of independence. Though often subdued, they have always regained their liberty, and maintained their independence. Many ambassadors have passed between them and the Chinese authorities; they have carried on trade by land and by sea; freely mixed with the Chinese, whom they greatly resemble; but never fully acknowledged the emperor of China as their sovereign. The king of Annam, (in Chinese, Gan-nan), who has united Tunkin (Chinese Tung-king) to his dominion, has greatly increased his power by adopting French improvements. He has therefore become formidable to his potent neighbour, and assumed the title of emperor, without meeting with the punishment due to such presumption. His humanity in sending back two Chinese men-of-war, which had lost their way on the Cochin-Chinese coast, is greatly extolled by his imperial majesty. He sends occasionally an ambassador, under the name of tribute-bearer; the great object, how-

ever, is sordid gain ; for the junks which bring the envoy and his train, are fully laden, and exempt from duty.

The king of Siam acknowledges the supremacy of China. During the reign of the Ming dynasty, the Siamese monarchs frequently appealed to the emperor, to settle the disputes which had arisen between them and certain Malay princes. There was even a king of Siam, who in the thirteenth century left his own dominion to tender his territories to the Chinese emperor. He was graciously received, and dismissed with assurance of the imperial compassion. Accordingly, an embassy goes annually to Canton, but only every third year to Peking. This mission arrives in two huge junks, laden with sugar, rice, and other Indian produce. As no duties are paid upon the articles imported in royal junks, this trade is very lucrative, and not only pays the expenses of the embassy, which is generally meanly fitted out, but gives also a fair profit to his Siamese majesty. The trade with Siam has been uninterruptedly carried on, since the times of the Ming dynasty. Siamese junks are allowed to repair to all the harbours of the empire, without being subject to very heavy duties. They are almost treated on terms of equality with those of China. Yung-ching recommended Chinese

traders to proceed to Siam for large quantities of rice: Chinese merchants have obeyed this direction, and repair in great numbers to Siam, where they meet with very little annoyance. They have peopled Siam; there are annually great numbers leaving the eastern parts of the Canton province and Haenan, to colonize Siam, where they have thriving sugar plantations.

The Laos and Cambodians have more or less acknowledged the superiority of Chinese genius. Some of the northern Laos tribes are immediately subject to the frontier mandarins of Kwang-se, where they bear a rank which constitutes them Chinese officers. They are an unwarlike race, satisfied with a few privileges of bartering their commodities on the frontiers: by means of them the Chinese have often intermeddled in the affairs of the Indo-Chinese nations. Several years ago, they sent down an embassy of Laos nobles in order to prevail upon the king of Siam not to oppress the Laos tribes who border upon the Siamese territory.

Japan boldly defies the degrading terms of vassalage; and the Japanese have often made the Chinese maritime provinces tremble. The emperor thinks himself an equal with the Chinese monarch, sends no embassy, but permits the Chinese to trade to his dominions; they are there under very great restrictions, and

treated worse than the Dutch. The trade itself is subject to great exactions, and therefore only five imperial junks sail from Chapo, a harbour in the northern part of Che-këang, to Japan. It is principally on account of the copper, which is used for coinage, that the junks subject themselves to such grievous annoyance.

The Lew-kew or Loo-choo islands may be said to depend as much upon China as does Korea. The king sends annually some junks to Fuh-choo, the capital of Fuh-keën where they trade. Their nobles are sent up to Peking, in order to be educated, and after their return are promoted to offices. They pay entire homage to the holy will of his imperial majesty, though governed by their own native princes. The Chinese have shown an affectionate regard to this diminutive island-kingdom; they have furnished the people with the elements of education, and taught them ship-building.

Hindoostan has had little intercourse with China. Though Buddhism was imported from that country, there never existed any commercial relation between it and China, neither did his imperial majesty force the inhabitants of the northern parts to acknowledge his paternal sway. A Chinese priest travelled amongst the five Yintoo (Gentoo) nations; another re-

turned with a letter from Muh-se-nang, addressed to the emperor of China. He said, "I have lately heard that there is in China an illustrious king, most excellent, most august, most powerful. I regret my being so unfortunate as not to have it in my power to obtain an audience. Whilst I look up to you from so great a distance, I hope that, whether you rise or are at rest, you may enjoy ten-thousand-fold happiness!" An Indian priest had accompanied his brother ; they arrived at Peking. The emperor, Keën-tih, sent 300 priests to India, in order to collect relics and books of Buddha. During the reign of the Ming dynasty, this intercourse was again resumed, but carried on without any advantage to either party, except a rich importation of Buddhist legendary tales, and the knowledge of the Sanskrit language, which is still taught at Peking.

The kings of Pegu and Birmah, though neighbours of China, have never cultivated the friendship of the celestial empire. A few ambassadors have passed between the golden-footed ruler at Ava and the Son of Heaven at Peking ; but they have never been on friendly terms, and have been occasionally engaged in war. There is a little trade carried on between Yun-nan and Birmah ; a few Chinese have also

settled in the capital, Ava, and at Rangoon, but neither of the two powers feel inclined to enter into closer relations.

The Indian Archipelago has always presented a large field for enterprise to the Chinese traders. Since the dynasty of Han, there have existed diplomatic relations between the islands of the Archipelago and China. Several petty chiefs at Malacca, Tringano, Acheen, and Solo, have made the emperor an arbiter of their disputes, and sent envoys to bow at the feet of his throne. When the Chinese population had grown very large, many junks, laden with emigrants, went in quest of their fortunes towards the southern regions of Asia. They ventured as far as Arabia, visited Ceylon, from whence they imported priests and sacred books; traded largely to Malacca; went often to Acheen; touched at Java, and ranged throughout the eastern parts of the Archipelago. Wherever they touched, some Chinese formed settlements, and remained for some time. Thus they penetrated into Borneo; and regions which no enterprizing European has ever visited became the spheres of their industry. The natives of these respective countries hailed their arrival as auspicious and beneficial. They always brought something to satisfy the cupidity of the chiefs; they had a cargo to exchange for

the produce of the land; and although they showed themselves invariably great knaves, the rude islanders obtained by their means what they could not otherwise have procured. With the utmost regret they saw the arrival of the Portuguese, a nation more civilized than themselves, who could enter with them into competition, and were powerful enough to drive them out of the market. The Chinese government took no notice of the extent of national commerce; the mandarins thought it below their dignity, as it brought the inhabitants of the celestial empire into closer contact with barbarians. Foreign trade has often been suppressed on this account by the paternal government, but Chinese merchants have always found means to evade the vigilance of their rulers. We might have thought that islands, like Luzon and the Philippine group, would have drawn the attention of the Chinese conquerors, but they never ventured to extend their sway to so great a distance. Several ambassadors sent by the Luzon princes, arrived at Peking long before the Spaniards touched upon their coasts; but the Chinese government merely inquired at what point of the compass their country lay, and admired the beasts and birds which the foreigners brought. But though government felt disinclined to second the efforts of dis-

covery, it would have been well had they encouraged the enterprises of their subjects, and protected them in their distant voyages. But when the Philippines were occupied by the Spaniards, a faint complaint was uttered; the barbarians were decried as fierce aggressors, and here the matter ended.

We might have expected that the Chinese, having found their way to Acheen, would very soon have penetrated into the western coast of Africa; but their vessels are too ill adapted for long voyages; for though they have a double hulk, which saves the trouble of coppering, the seams being caulked with oakum, and the bottom paved with dammer and quick-lime, their rudders are too large to withstand a heavy sea. When we view the mainsail of a junk, all in one, made of rattan and matting, with a running rigging, we are apt to wonder how the wind can propel the huge fabric by means of such an unmanageable sail. There stands the mainmast, an immense spar, whilst the fore and mizen-masts are mere sticks. Built without keel or cut-water, perfectly flat, and nearly of the same breadth a-head and a-stern, with only one deck, and an immense hold, this curious structure floats heavily upon the water, and labours hard in a cross sea. If the art of the navigators had provided against accidents, we

might forgive the Chinese the blunder of building a vessel in the form of a shoe; but they possess neither charts nor log-line, spy-glass nor quadrant; their only instruments are the compass, which is divided into twenty-four parts, and a lead-line. Like the old Phœnicians, they steer along the coast; as soon as they have descried certain head-lands, they are at home, and take a new departure, till they have reached the harbour of their destination. The structure of their vessels, almost as ancient as the ark, has remained the same; we admire the primitive simplicity of this nation, and pity their backwardness in improvements. If any vessels resemble the Noachic ark, we think the Chinese Keang-nan junk must be the nearest imitation of the antediluvian model. But notwithstanding these great disadvantages, they trade to every corner of the Chinese coast. No country in Asia has so many fine harbours, inlets, and rivers as China, and nowhere have the natives so well made use of these natural advantages. One is sure to find on the Canton, Fuh-keën, Che-këang, Shan-tung, and Leaou-tung coasts, at every ten or twenty miles, a harbour, and to see numerous junks plying between them. The coast of Formosa, though dangerous on account of its shoals, swarms with Chinese vessels of various tonnage. Hae-

nan numbers many small craft; and the seas towards the southern part of Keang-nan are covered with large fishing-smacks. The Chinese are a mercantile nation, in defiance of their government, which only inculcates and promotes agriculture.

When the inroads of the Mantchoo Tatars forced many a peaceful Chinese from his abode, they fled to those provinces which were still in possession of the Ming dynasty. But the victorious sons of Shun-che and Kang-he forced the mal-contents to flee altogether from the country; a great number of Fuh-keën men preferred death to an ignominious subjection to the Tatars, and fixed their new abodes upon the islands and promontories of the Indian Archipelago, principally Luzon, Java, and the Malay peninsula. When the fermentation had subsided, their countrymen visited them with large junks, richly laden with teas, gilt paper, China-ware, sweetmeats, silks, &c., articles which were indispensably necessary to their countrymen, and which found a ready sale amongst the European settlers. Both the trade and emigration have since then continued to be carried on successfully; many thousands have left their native homes to return no more. The greater part of the colonists came from the eastern parts of Canton—Chaou-choo-foo (or

T'eo-chew-hoo); from the southern districts of Fuh-keën, Tung-gan, (Tang-öa), Tsëuen-choo, and Chang-choo, and in comparatively small numbers from the environs of the provincial city of Canton. The Fuh-keën men have by their superior genius engrossed a great deal of the trade in the Indian Archipelago, and established large houses at the principal emporiums. They are very enterprising, and as honest as a Chinese can possibly be. The establishment of the British colonies of Penang and Singapore, has drawn a great many Chinese thither. They sail in January or February from Shanghai in Keang-soo, from Ning-po in Chë-keang, from Amoy in Fuh-keën, from Tching-hae, and the provincial capital of Canton, with large junks, towards the southern parts, bringing with them several thousand colonists. Here they stay till the monsoon has changed, traffic and loiter about, and gather the money, which the settlers are sending home. Richly laden, they return and seldom fail to make a considerable profit, especially if they have many passengers, who invest their hard earned money in Indian produce.

Europeans are astonished to find upon almost every small island, which is inhabited by Malays, some Chinese, the soul of the population. They have even gone so far as to found a re-

public, ruled by the elders of their respective clans, in the interior of Borneo, and in the neighbourhood of Pontianak, a Dutch settlement. The independent Malay princes invariably employ them as their pursers, merchants, and counsellors. They intermarry with the native women, because it is prohibited to take their wives with them, and a mongrel race of Chinese has sprung up, which only in knavery excel their progenitors. But they scarcely ever amalgamate with the nations amongst whom they live, if we except the settlers in Siam, whose great advantage it is to conform to Siamese customs. At the arrival of emigrants, the Chinese clansmen and merchants assemble, every one of them has his friend or relation to salute; those who are friendless hire themselves to pay their passage-money by the work of their hands. If they are industrious, they very soon gain as much as to get a suit of new clothes, for they arrive almost naked; they accumulate a few dollars, begin to trade with fruits, earth-nuts, &c.; in a short time they hire a small shop, and thus they get on gradually, till they can make considerable remittances to their friends at home, whom they seldom forget. They will rather starve themselves, than suffer their parents in China to be without the means of subsistence; they will toil day and night to have

a few dollars ready towards the time of the junks' sailing. But others get rich. After having been famished on board the junks, where they live upon very slender fare, they fall ravenously upon the Indian fruits, cram their mouth full of rice, till their constitution begins to fail. They are the outcasts and generally die a miserable death; without any friendly hand being stretched out to assist them in their last moments. Others give themselves up to gambling and opium-smoking, lose all zest for work, become thieves and vagabonds, and end their lives in extreme misery.

There are several dangerous associations amongst them, of which the principal object consists in doing as much wickedness as is practicable by joint co-operation. They have of late so much prevailed, that very few new comers have escaped their snares, but have been forced to enter their fraternity. Those who refuse to abet their horrid crimes, are persecuted and oppressed, and must seek their safety in flight.

The reader, who wishes to make himself acquainted with the early intercourse of the Chinese with foreigners, ought to read the *Tung-se-yang-kaou*,—Examiner of the Eastern and Western seas,—a very curious work, published some centuries ago in eight volumes.

The intercourse between the Chinese and the Roman empire, must have been carried on at a very early period. Whether we might to recognise the latter under the Chinese name of Fuh-lin, or Ta-tsin, of which the Chinese give us a splendid description, without pointing out the situation of this empire, matters very little; Rome stood in want of silk; silk was only brought from China, and therefore some commercial relation must have existed.

Virgil is the most ancient writer who expressly mentions the "soft wool," which was combed from the trees of the Seres, or Chinese. Pliny condemns the thirst of gain, which explored the utmost boundaries of the earth, for the mere purpose of procuring a slight texture. The use of silk, which was interwoven by Phenician women with flaxen thread, was, during two centuries, confined to the Roman ladies, but in an effeminate age, this precious stuff, of which one pound sold for 12 ounces of gold, was worn by Roman citizens. Silk was immediately delivered to the Romans, who visited the fairs of Armenia and Nisibin. But the continual wars between the Romans and Persians put a stop to this traffic. The cities of Samarkand and Bokhara, were advantageously situated to serve as an emporium between the eastern and western world. The Sogdian caravans travelled through

the wilderness of Kobi, till they reach Shen-se. Up to this day, this tour is performed, but the gain in these adventures is less. To escape the Tatar robbers, and to explore a better road, which might exempt the merchants from the heavy exactions of the Persian tyrant, they travelled over Tibet, and came down either the Ganges or the Indus, where they awaited in the ports of Guzerat and Malabar the annual fleets of the west. A more expeditious way of trading was pursued by the Chinese, by repairing with their vessels to Ceylon, an island well known by their geographers under the name of Seih-lan, or Kun-lun, (see a Chinese directory, published by an admiral.) Here they found protection, and a ready sale for their goods, for the merchants from the gulf of Persia crowded thither. But a stop was put to this lucrative trade, by the ingenuity of two Persian monks, Nestorians by profession, who had long resided in China, and narrowly examined the manufacture of silk. They returned to Constantinople, gained the patronage of the emperor, re-entered China, and carried away a very great number of eggs in a hollow cane. The eggs were hatched at the proper season by the aid of dung, the worms were fed with mulberry leaves, they lived and spun, and China was deprived of this great branch of income. This happened under the celebrated Justinian.

A few years afterwards an ambassador from Sogdia, visited Constantinople ; he saw the Roman silk, and acknowledged, that the Romans were not inferior in the art of getting the silk from the worm. This circumstance must greatly have diminished the intercourse between the Chinese and foreigners. There are still some faint traces of their sending goods by way of the Caspian. We do not doubt, that the ships which went to the Persian Gulf from the Red Sea, had immediate intercourse with the Chinese traders, but we cannot trace the routes by which they carried it on. It cannot have extended far, otherwise China might have drawn the attention of the ancient world, and roused the ambition of a conqueror.

MOHAMMEDANS.

Upon the ruin of one nation, another rises with youthful vigour, and prosecutes the objects which the vanquished power was forced to abandon. The Roman empire, reduced to the eastern provinces, saw a fanatic issue from the south, perhaps the only southern conqueror who ever overcame the nations of the north, leading a band of vagrant Arabs into the field, who had nothing to lose, but every thing to gain.

Animated by religious fanaticism, they conquered the best provinces of the Byzantine empire, and established themselves at Alexandria, then the emporium of the world. A nation like the Arabs were very soon reclaimed, by their spiritual and temporal head, the Kaliph, from barbarism. They extended their conquests, their religion, their discoveries, and their commerce; they improved upon the sciences they had found amongst their vanquished foes, and were more enterprising in their maritime exploits, even than the renowned Greeks,—they found their way to China. Mohammedanism, however, had previously penetrated thither through Bukharia, though we are left entirely in the dark about the mode in which it was introduced. We can easily believe that the first propagators of this new doctrine set no bounds to their zeal, and penetrated the dreary deserts, which separate China from the western world. It is also possible, that some Tatars joined in the wars, which were fought in Persia to establish this creed, and turned converts to a faith, which was so congenial to their roving habits, and their thirst after rapine. Some historians assert that their creed was propagated as early as the seventh century of our era, during the reign of the Tang dynasty. But their religion has never made great progress. They are said to buy

children, in order to increase their numbers; but the generality of the votaries are very poor, and have scarcely sufficient to maintain themselves, still less to purchase or support foundlings. They have several mosques in Che-keang, Pi-chi-le, Shen-se, and Shan-se. As they have occasionally joined the rebels of Turkestan, the government views them with a jealous eye; but nevertheless, there are some officers in high trust, who have adopted this creed. Notwithstanding the great distance they live from the native country of their prophet, a few individuals annually perform the pilgrimage to Mekka, and return with Arabic manuscripts of the Koran, and wonderful tales about the grave of Mohammed. They have their own literature, Chinese, interspersed with a few Arabian characters. Some of them can read the Arabic imperfectly, and perhaps repeat the first Sura. But they are by no means bigoted, or proselytizing, or scrupulous in performing the ancestral rites, and venerating Confucius.



The account we have of the trade which the Mohammedans carried on with China, is from the relation of the voyages of two Arabian travellers, who visited the country in the ninth century, which Renaudot has given to the world.

They remark : " Most of the Chinese ships

take in their cargo at Siraf, where also they ship their goods, which come from Bassora, and other ports; and this they do, because in this sea there are frequent storms and shoal water in many places. When ships have loaded in Siraf, they water there also, and from thence make sail for a place called Maskat. From this port ships take their departure for the Indies, and first they touch at Kau-cammali, and from Maskat to this place is a month's sail with the wind aft. Kau-cammali is a frontier place, and the chief arsenal in the province of the same name, and here the Chinese ships put in and are in safety. Having watered, they begin to enter the sea of Harkand; they sail through it, and touch at a place called Lajabalus, where the inhabitants do not understand the Arabic, nor any other language in use with merchants. From this place, the ships steer towards Kalabar, the name of a place, and kingdom, on the coast, to the right hand beyond India. In ten days after this, ships reach a place called Betuma, where they may water. It is worth notice, that in all the islands and peninsulas of the Indies, they find water, when they dig for it. In ten days from the last mentioned place, they arrive at Senef; here is fresh water, and hence comes the aromatic wood. Having watered at this place, it is ten days'

passage to Sandarfulat, an island where there is fresh water. Then they steer upon the sea of Sanji, and so to the gates of China; for so they call certain rocks and shoals in the sea, between which is a narrow strait through which ships pass. It requires a month to sail from Sandarfulat to China, and it takes up eight whole days to steer clear of these rocks. When a ship has got through these gates, she goes with the flood tide into a fresh water gulph, and drops anchor in the chief port of China, Kanfu, and here they have fresh water both from springs and rivers, as they have also in most of the other ports in China." We have given this at full length, in order to furnish to the reader, an idea of the tedious passages which were made at this time. Kanfu is, perhaps, Kwang-chow-foo,—Canton; but some think that it was a port to the west of Canton, which now no longer exists.

These Arabs do not inform us about the origin of this trade. It is very likely that some Arabs first made the voyage in a Chinese junk, and afterwards piloted their countrymen to Kan-fu.

"When merchants enter China by sea, the Chinese seize on their cargo, and convey it to warehouses; and so put a stop to their business for six months, till the last merchantman arrives. Then they take thirty per cent. upon

each commodity, and return the rest to the merchant. If the emperor wants any particular thing, his officers have a right to take it preferably to any other person whatsoever; and paying for it to the utmost penny it is valued at, they dispatch his business immediately, and without injustice."

They speak of some great revolution, which affected the trade considerably. An officer, named Bai-chu, not of royal extraction, joined to his banner vagabonds and abandoned wretches, and marched against Kan-fu. "This city," our travellers say, "is one of the most celebrated in China, and was at that time the port for all the Arabian merchants; situated at some distance from the sea, so that the water is fresh. This rebel at last became master of the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, A. D. 877. There perished on this occasion 120,000 Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees, who were there on account of traffic. The mulberry trees were cut down, and the silk trade began to stagnate. The whole empire was thrown into a state of anarchy. There arose many unjust dealings with the merchants who traded thither; which having gathered the force of a precedent, there was no grievance, no treatment so bad, but they exercised it upon the foreign Arabs and the masters of ships. They extorted from the merchants

what was not due ; they seized upon their effects, and behaved towards them contrary to all established law. But God punished them, by withdrawing his blessing from them in every respect, and by causing the navigation to be forsaken, and the merchants to return in crowds to Siraf and Oman, pursuant to the infallible orders of the Almighty Master, whose name be blessed."

We must make a few more extracts. They state, that " the Chinese coin no money besides the little pieces of copper, like those we call falus ; nor will they allow gold and silver to be wrought into specie, like the dinars and dirhems that are current with us. For, say they, if a thief goes with an evil intent into the house of an Arab, where is gold and silver coin, he may carry off 10,000 pieces of gold, and not be much burdened therewith, and so be the ruin of that man who should suffer the loss. Whereas, if a thief has the same design upon the house of a Chinese artificer, he cannot, at most, take away 10,000 falus, or pieces of copper, which do not make ten miticals, or dinars, of gold."

There was formerly a man, of the tribe of Koreish, whose name was Ebn Wahab. He went to the emperor's court ; and sent several petitions to acquaint his majesty that he belonged to the family of the prophet of the Arabs. He obtained finally an audience ; and the em-

peror asked him, how they had destroyed the kingdom of the Persians. Upon this, Ebn Wahab answered, that they did it by the assistance of God; because the Persians were involved in idolatry, adoring the stars, sun, and moon, instead of worshipping the true God. After some further conversation, the emperor turned towards the interpreter, and said: "Tell him we esteem but five kings: he, whose kingdom is of the widest extent, is the same who is master of Irak; for he is in the midst of the world, and surrounded by the territories of other kings: and we find that he is called the King of kings. After him, we reckon our emperor here present: and we find that he is styled the king of mankind; for no other king is invested with more absolute power and authority over his subjects; nor is there a people, under the sun, more dutiful and submissive to their sovereign than the people of this country. We, therefore, in this respect, are the kings of men. After us, is the king of the Turks, whose kingdom borders upon us; and him we call the king of lions. Next, the king of elephants; the same is the king of the Indies, whom we also call the king of wisdom; because he derives his origin from the Indians. And, last of all, the king of Greece, whom we style the king of men; for, upon the whole earth, there are no men of better man-

ners, nor of comlier presence, than his subjects. These," added he, "are the most illustrious of all kings; nor are the others to be compared with them." We question very much the veracity of this whole conversation; but think the principal leading points may be according to truth. The emperor then showed his visitor the images of the prophets; and, finally, the image of Mohammed, riding upon a camel. At the sight of which he wept; and, being asked the cause, he exclaimed: "There is our prophet and our lord, who is also my cousin." Ebn Wahab describes the magnificence of Humdan, the capital; which, he says, is two months distant from Kan-fu. As an instance of the justice wherewith all matters were treated, our travellers mention an Arab merchant, who, being oppressed by some eunuch, the intimate confidant of the emperor, went to the monarch to lay his case before him. Though he was a favourite, the emperor rebuked him very sharply, saying: "I grant thee thy life, in consideration of thy former services in the rank thou holdest in my house; but I will confer upon thee a command among the dead, as thou hast not been able to acquit thyself of thy duty which thou holdest over the living."

They praise the uprightness and impartiality of the learned Chinese judges, who devoted

their whole lives to the study of the law. They are greatly taken with the ingenuity of the Chinese in all arts and sciences. Whilst they consider the nation as the only wise one on earth, they speak in terms of abhorrence of their idols and vices. It is their opinion, that "the emperor reserves to himself the revenues which arise from the salt mines, and from a certain herb, which they drink with hot water, and of which great quantities are sold in all the cities to the amount of great sums; they call it sah, and it is a shrub more bushy than the pomegranate tree, and of a more pleasing smell, but it has a kind of bitterness with it. Their way is to boil the water, which they pour upon this leaf, and this drink cures all sorts of diseases. Whatever sums are lodged in the treasury, arise from the poll-tax, the duties upon salt, and upon this leaf." They speak with the utmost contempt of the vices so prevalent to this day in China. "There are schools in every town for teaching the poor and their children to write and read, the masters are paid at the public charge. The Chinese have no sciences, and their religion and most of their laws are derived from the Indians; nay they are of opinion, that the Indians taught them the worship of idols, and consider them a very religious nation. The Chinese are more handsome than the Indians.

They wear long garments and girdles in form of belts, dress in silk summer and winter; and the women curl their jet hair," which the travellers greatly admire.

On the whole these accounts are as correct as we could expect from the scantiness of the writer's information. We regret that we are unable to give a fuller account of the Arabian trade; but it was, perhaps, never carried on to any great extent, and perhaps frequently interrupted.

During the time of the Crusades, the western nations came in closer contact with the eastern tribes. Venice and Genoa fought for the sovereignty of the sea, but their commercial expeditions were bounded by the Euxine and Alexandria. We admire the enterprising Marco Polo, who penetrated to the farthest regions of the continent of Asia.

"It should be known to the reader," thus he begins the relation of his adventures, "that during the time when Baldwin II. was emperor of Constantinople, in 1250, Nicolo Polo, the father of Marco, and Maffio, the brother of Nicolo, Venetians of a noble family, arrived at that city with a rich cargo of merchandize." They afterwards prosecuted their voyage by the Euxine, and arrived at Soldaia (Sudak). From this port they travelled over land till they reached the

court of Barka (Bereké), a grandson of the great Genghis, who received them very kindly, and furthered their object. Prevented from returning homewards by the war which had broken out, they prolonged their stay within his territories, till they fell in with an ambassador proceeding to the court of Kublai, the grand khan of Khatai. He was highly pleased with these foreigners, and invited them to accompany him. Convinced, that their return would expose them to imminent risks, they gladly accepted the offer, and recommending themselves to the protection of the Almighty, they set out on their journey. But the deep snows and the swelling of the rivers delayed them for a whole year, before they were able to reach the capital. The course they took was between the north and the north-east. They had thus an opportunity of seeing the greater part of those countries which separate China from Europe. Having visited Kashgar, Samarkand, and other places, which are minutely described, and undergone the toils of a tour through the wilderness, they finally arrived in Shense, and found their way to Kam-balu (Peking). The grand khan, delighted with the sight of these strangers, received them with great affability and condescension, freely conversing with them upon the affairs of Europe, the state of the church, and the health of his

holiness the pope. After many interviews with the great monarch, they were commissioned to bring back a hundred missionaries. Three years elapsed before they could reach Giazza, a port in Lesser Armenia. They finally arrived in Acre in 1269. Their communications astonished the new-chosen pope, who immediately dispatched them, to answer the wishes of the great khan. They entered upon their journey in 1272; their road was beset with dangers, but being men of great determination, they overcame them all. Marco Polo, who has given us the description, was one of the party. Their progress was tedious; they were three years and a half on their way before they reached Klemen-fu, a magnificent city, where the monarch at that time kept his court. When his majesty heard of their approach, he sent his people to meet them, and issued orders to prepare for their reception in the places they had to pass. By these means, and through the blessing of God, they were conveyed in safety to the royal court. The emperor, aware of their talents, used them in various enterprizes, of which the management required a great deal of skill. After having amassed considerable riches, they felt a great desire to return home. Nicolo Polo accordingly took an opportunity one day, when he observed the emperor more cheerful than usual, of throw-

ing himself at his feet, and soliciting, on behalf of himself and his family, to be indulged with his majesty's gracious permission for their departure. The emperor refused their request.

In the year 1287, Bolgana, queen of Persia, and the wife of Arghun, died. In accordance with her dying request, Arghun applied to Kublai, his relation, to receive from his hand a maiden to wife, from among the relations of his deceased spouse. The emperor gladly complied with the request, and chose a damsel of seventeen years old for this purpose. But fresh wars had broken out, and the mission was compelled to retrace its steps to China, after many fruitless attempts to penetrate Tataria. In the meanwhile, Marco Polo returned from a successful voyage to the Indian Archipelago. It was now proposed to send the queen by sea, Marco having made himself thoroughly acquainted with the navigation of the Archipelago. By these means, Kublai was with difficulty induced to let the Italians depart. Fourteen ships were therefore equipped, each having four masts, and capable of carrying nine sails. The khan presented the Italians with many rubies and other valuable jewels, furnished the ship with provisions for two years, gave them a golden tablet, which contained the order for their having free and safe conduct throughout his domi-

nions, and gave them authority to act in the capacity of his ambassadors, to the pope, the kings of France and Spain, and other Christian princes. After a navigation of three months, they arrived at an island, which lay in a southern direction, named Java ; from whence they employed eighteen months in searching the place of their destination. In this time a great number of the crew had died, and when they reached the place, Arghun himself, for whom the bride was destined, had departed this life. They delivered her therefore to the son of the deceased ; and the Italians now set out, under a strong escort, on their return home. On their way they learned that the great Kublai had died, and therefore abandoned all thoughts of revisiting China. Loaded with riches, they in 1295, arrived at Venice, after many adventures. On this occasion they offered up their thanks to God, who had been pleased to relieve them from such great fatigues, after having preserved them from innumerable perils. Marco Polo is an accurate observer ; his book is replete with the best information upon western Tatar and China. He himself traversed several provinces of the celestial empire. He describes the Mongols as a brave people, who obey their chiefs implicitly, and are excellent warriors. Many of the places he visited on his tour are now forgotten,

and no more to be found ; others have sunk into insignificance ; but the throne of the great khan, though in possession of a different family, still exists. Our author describes the exploits of Kublai, his great patron, in glowing language ; his grandeur, the magnificence of his court, his constant application to business, rouse his admiration to a high pitch. His house had 10,000 inmates ; all his court was splendour ; his government a pattern of good order. There has been no monarch so great as Kublai. It is only to be regretted that Marco Polo's discoveries were not followed up as they ought to have been ; but Europe was in a dormant state, involved in broils, enslaved by popery, without arts or sciences ; and when it was again reclaimed from the barbarism of the middle ages, Russia, a country inhabited by semi-barbarians, and Persia, the seat of a Mohammedan power, opposed unconquerable obstacles to the accomplishment of the objects of a scientific traveller ; but the road to India and China was opened by a less obstructed way.

CHAPTER XXI.

EMPORIUMS.

BEFORE entering into an account of the modern intercourse of European nations with China, it is necessary to furnish some general outlines of the places which European merchants visited, to familiarise the reader with the field of their enterprise.

CANTON, Kwang-chow-foo, called also by the natives Sang-ching, is situated in $23^{\circ} 7' 10''$, N. lat. and in long. $113^{\circ} 14' 30''$ east of Greenwich, on the Choo-keang,—Pearl river. It is surrounded by canals, branches of rivers, rice-fields, and towering, barren hills. It is a very ancient city, and is said to have existed at the time of Yaou, who commanded one of his ministers to repair to Nan-keaou, which is also called Ming-too,—the splendid capital. The territory, which now bears the name of Kwang-tung (Canton) province, was then called Yuë, and constituted the principality of Yang. During the reign of the Shang dynasty, the princes

sent tribute to the son of heaven. About 630, B. C., the prince of Tsoo subjected the southern barbarians to his sway, to prevent their being troublesome. The provincial city bore then the name of Nan-woo-ching; it was surrounded by a bamboo stockade, and of narrow dimensions. Possibly, however, the situation of the place has changed according to circumstances. We are told that five genii riding upon rams, met at the city, each ram bearing a stalk of grain in his mouth, which had six ears. The genii, after having addressed the people with a couplet, which said, "May famine and dearth never visit your market," disappeared, and the rams were changed into stone. A temple still exists, commemorative of this strange event.

Che-kwang-te carried his victorious arms towards the south. Canton was then called Nan-hae—southern sea. Half a million of imperial soldiers met with firm resistance from the barbarians, who starved a part of the army and slew the remainder. But these rebellious tribes submitted to the Han dynasty. It was during this time, that the first foreigners arrived in China by sea. During the reign of Woo-te, of the Chin dynasty, the Canton people sent a piece of fine cloth as tribute to the emperor; but the prince was so displeased with this luxury, that he rejected it disdainfully, and issued

his prohibition, never again to send him such commodities, or to manufacture any more. In the year 700, during the reign of the Tang dynasty, a regular market for foreign commodities was opened at Canton, and an imperial commissioner appointed to receive the customs. The Chinese monarchs had long felt the inconvenience of communicating with this distant territory, and therefore they cut a pass through the Mei-ling mountains, as early as 707. After 795, the foreign merchants, who had hitherto traded to Canton, repaired to Cochin-China, on account of the great extortions at the former place, and the unsettled state of the country. The ministers did not regret this great change; but the emperor was of a different opinion. "Multitudes of trading vessels," (these were the words of his advisers,) "have heretofore flocked to Canton; if they have all deserted it, and repaired to Cochin-China, it must either have been from extortion's being unsupportable, or from failure in affording proper inducements. When a gem spoils in its case, who is to blame, but the keeper of it? If the pearl be fled to other regions, how is it to be propelled back again. The Shoo-king says, 'Do not prize too much strange commodities, and foreigners will come.'"

Canton was afterwards attacked by the

Cochin-Chinese, 879. The inhabitants suffered exceedingly during the protracted siege, but a public-spirited individual made large junks, and brought grain from Fuh-keën, and thus relieved the wants of his starving countrymen.

When the Tang dynasty became extinct, China fell again into a state of anarchy ; but the faithful Canton vassals continued to send their tribute to the ephemeral emperors, who sat upon the throne ; it amounted to five millions of taëls, and the generous vassal Lew-yen, was rewarded with the title of Nan-hae-wang—king of the Southern sea. But this was nothing new, for during the reign of the Kaou-te, of the Han dynasty, a petty chief declared himself king, under the name of Nan-woo—Southern Warrior. So large a tribute, consisting in gold and ivory, and other precious articles, argues in favour of an extensive trade ; for Canton does not possess these articles as indigenous, nor would the people have been able to furnish them, if commerce had not provided them with the means : the court in Canton, in those days is, represented as cruel and extravagant. Criminals were boiled and roasted, flayed and speared, and sent to fight with tigers and elephants. It was found necessary to prohibit the people from offering human sacrifices to the demons. Witches and wizards traversed and disturbed the land ; the

people were worse than savages ; the Sung dynasty bestowed paternal care on their southern subjects ; the continual feuds with Cochin-China were prohibited ; and to protect the city against their depredations, government built a wall and armed it, which cost 30,000 taëls.

When the Mongol Tatars invaded China, they laid waste the southern parts, killed the inhabitants, and prevented the trade from being carried on as before. But in 1300, numerous ships again flocked to this renowned harbour, and the trade flourished until 1500, when the Canton pirates joining the Japanese, committed great depredations on the coasts. There were constant insurrections, during the decline of the Ming dynasty ; Canton was greatly disturbed by continual insurrection. The flame of discord blazed awhile, till the rising Tatar family extinguished it for ever, and introduced "a never-ending tranquillity," according to the expression of Chinese patriots. But before their result could be produced, the Tatars had to besiege the city, which was faithful to a prince of the Ming dynasty, who had proclaimed himself emperor. They opened a heavy fire upon the walls, and after having made breaches, took it by assault in 1650, plundered and massacred the peaceful inhabitants. The general war-cry was "kill, kill these barbarous rebels ;" neither sex nor age was spared ; all the

inhabitants shared in this dreadful fate. Some writers affirm, that 700,000 people suffered death. After the Tatars had finished the work of carnage, they took up their quarters in the old city, where they still continue to reside, whilst the civil officers repaired to the new city. Lawless bands of robbers for a long while disturbed the peace of the inhabitants; there are even now numerous banditti who often commit great ravages upon the defenceless inhabitants. The trade and wealth, however, since the reign of the Ta-tsing dynasty has greatly increased, and becomes every year more flourishing. A great calamity befel the city in 1822. A fire broke out to the northward of the European factories. The streets being very narrow, it gained ground rapidly upon the wooden houses. Instead of extinguishing the flames the natives were only intent upon their own safety and that of their property, whilst escorted by men with drawn swords and knives. The British chief sent a memorial to the mandarins, requesting them to pull down the adjoining houses, in order to stop the ravages of the spreading flame. But this request was not complied with, because it was not sealed with the seal of office. Soon afterwards the European factories caught fire, and were almost all burnt down. The loss of the East India Company was very great. Many

lives were lost, robbers paraded the streets in search of prey, the confusion was general. Several incendiaries were decapitated by orders of government. Between seventy and ninety streets were laid in ashes, and between 13,000 and 14,000 houses utterly burnt down. The treasuries of most of the factories were attacked by the Chinese during the second night of the fire, but the robbers were not successful in finding much cash. The local magistrates were dismissed from their office on account of mismanagement. The governor himself was horror-struck, and is said to have disrobed himself, put off his official cap and boots, and threw them into the flames.

That portion of the city, which is surrounded by a wall, nearly in the form of a square, is divided into two parts, by a wall running from east to west. The northern, which is much the largest part, is called the old city; the southern is called the new city. The whole circumference can be circumambulated at a quick pace within two hours. These walls are made of stone and brick, with a line of battlements and embrasures at the distance of a few feet: sixteen gates lead to the city. The suburbs are fully as large as the city itself; on the west, they spread out nearly in the form of an isosceles right-angled triangle, opening to the north-

west, having the river on the south, and the western wall of the city for its two equal sides. On the south they occupy the whole space between the wall and the river. The European factories are outside of the city walls, on the banks of the river in the suburbs. They are thirteen in number, and run nearly east and west: beginning at the east, the 1st is E-wo-hong, the Greek factory; 2. Tseik-e-hong, the Dutch factory; 3. Pow-wo-hong, the British (Company's) factory; 4. Fung-tae-hong, the Chow-chow factory; 5. Lung-shun-hong, the Old English factory; 6. Suy-hong, the Swedish factory; 7. Ma-yin-hong, the Imperial factory; 8. Pow-shun-hong; 9. Kwong-une-hong, the American factory; 10. Chung-wo-hong, which is occupied by a Hong merchant; 11. Kaw-kung-hong, the French factory; 12. Luy-sung-hong, the Spanish factory; 13. Wong-ke-hong, the Danish factory. They are, without doubt, the most elegant buildings in the empire, though a European might find fault with them, and view the *factory comforts* with contempt. The Company has a small garden in front of their hong; several factories have terraces upon the roofs; the most stately rooms are the apartments of the Company. There are about 600 streets in Canton, most of them narrow and crooked, and none at all to be compared with

the Old and New China streets, near the factories; few of the houses are splendid, the laws of the celestial empire forbidding luxury in this branch. The dwellings of the poor are exceedingly crowded; but even in the houses of the wealthy, if we except the abodes of a few Hong merchants, there is no real comfort. The Governor's palace, a very spacious building, stands near the Yew-lan gate: he has very great power, and rules over two provinces, Kwang-tung and Kwang-se, though his proper seat is Shaou-king-foo, about one hundred miles west of this city: he generally resides in Canton. In Canton, as well as in any other Chinese metropolis, a hall is dedicated to heaven's son, (the emperor,) whither the officers repair on great festivals, and worship his absent majesty. We are strongly reminded of the pagan Roman emperors, who had incense burnt before their statues: in China an altar is erected, with the inscription Wan-suy-yah, "Lord of ten thousand years!" and the priests of all sects read mass, burn incense, and prostrate themselves before the vain and pompous *title* of a man—a fellow-mortal. The public buildings and temples at Canton are very numerous; the Chinese, like the Greeks, consider elegant public buildings expressive of national prosperity, and bestow upon these establishments all possible

care and money to render them tasteful and magnificent. We may smile at their notions of architecture, but they erect buildings to the best of their ability and knowledge. The most extensive of these public edifices to which Europeans are allowed free access, is the temple of Honan, opposite the factories, on the other side of the river. A priest had built on the spot where it now stands, a small temple, which he called the temple of ten thousand autumns, in honour of Buddha, when a commissioner of Kang-he arrived, and took up his quarters in this temple. Canton was not at that time entirely subjugated to the Tatar sway, and the commissioner, Ping-nan-wang, king of the subjugated south, came hither to exterminate the rebels. He saw here Ah-tsze, a fat priest, and remarked, that if he had lived on vegetable diet he could not be so fat ; he must be a hypocrite, and ought to be punished with death : drawing his sword to execute the threat, his uplifted arm became on a sudden stiff. During the night, a divine person appeared to him, who said, "Ah-tsze is a holy man ; you must not unjustly kill him." On the next morning, the king presented himself before Ah-tsze, confessed his crime, and his arm was immediately restored : from that moment he considered him his confessor, and waited on the priest as a

servant. Thirteen of the surrounding villages, which had been devoted to destruction, on account of the refractory spirit of the inhabitants, were spared upon the intercession of the priest. The gratitude of the poor was very great; they willingly offered incense and money to their generous protector, but their trifling contributions were greatly increased by the munificence of the Tatar officers. There being no hall to celestial kings, the king took notice of this deficiency, and the priest replied, "Please your highness, a terrestrial king is the proper person to rear a pavilion to the celestial kings." The king took the hint, seized on a pool at the outer gate, belonging to a rich man, and erected a pavilion in honour of the celestial kings;—so runs the story. The temple has been richly endowed by other individuals, so that 175 priests can find sufficient subsistence; but a high-priest, some years ago, embezzled a great deal of money belonging to the temple, which in consequence is now poor. The buildings are chiefly of brick, and occupy, with the adjoining gardens, about seven or eight English acres. When entering the gate, one sees the statues of two deified warriors, colossal figures, placed to guard the entrance; then comes the pavilion of the four celestial kings; going farther up the broad well-paved pathway, we

come to the great hall in the presence of the three precious Buddhas—the past, the present, and the future—three colossal figures: behind this there are other halls, dedicated to the worship of gods and goddesses, equally gaudy, though not so large. There are, besides, other buildings, destined for the abodes of idols or their worshippers. Near the garden there is a retreat for the king of Hades, Te-tseang-wang; and in the garden a mausoleum, where the ashes of the deceased priests are annually deposited. To show compassion towards the animal creation, the priests feed domestic animals, and amongst them some enormous pigs, till they die a natural death. This is to atone for the daily slaughter of so many pigs at Canton.

The mandarins, with whom Europeans communicate through the medium of the Hong merchants, are the Tsung-tuh; governor of the provinces Kwang-tung and Kwang-se; the Foo-yuen, lieutenant-governor; and the Hae-kwan-keën-tuh, or Hoppo, the collector of customs. The latter has the full direction of foreign trade; but all matters of importance are communicated to the Tsung-tuh, who reports to the emperor, if the matter is worthy the imperial attention. There are, besides, the local officers, whom we have already mentioned in the introductory remarks, as constituting

the government of provinces and minor districts.

The trade is transacted by a certain number of merchants, whom Europeans call Hong-merchants; their number varies; at present there are twelve houses, who enjoy the privilege of trading with foreigners.

When a ship enters the channel, an outside pilot goes on board. After having reported herself, and either touched at Macao or Lin-tin, she proceeds through the Bocca-tigris (Hoo-mun) up the Choo-këang river, and anchors at Wham-poa (Hwang-poo), about fourteen miles below Canton. She engages a Hong-merchant, who becomes a surety for the good behaviour of the crew, and for the payment of the duties, and with whom the greater part of the business is transacted. The cargo is reported, and the ship measured. The dimensions are taken from the mizen to the foremast for the length, and between the gangways for the breadth; these two numbers multiplied together, and divided by ten, give the measurement in covids; and that quotient, multiplied by the sum to be paid per coid, according to the vessel's size, gives the whole amount of the measurement charge. They divide all the vessels into three classes. Vessels of 160 covids pay taëls 7·874,755 dec^{ls} per coid; second class, above 120, and under

160 covids, taëls 221,091 dec^{ls}. per covid; third class, of 120 covids, taëls 3,062,341 dec^{ls}. per covid. The *cum-shaw*, which includes port fees, presents, &c., amounts to about taëls 1,600,683 dec^{ls}. Ships which have only rice on board are free from the measurement duties, and pay only 620 taëls in fees. There are besides, fees paid to the linguists, who transact some business, and to the copradors, who provide the ship with provisions, independent of any duties. All the custom-house officers, who are very numerous, live upon extortions, and are, without exception, venal. The Hoppo himself is invariably an imperial minion, who has to pay the emperor a very heavy fee for his office, and must, in some way or another, indemnify himself. As the Hong-merchants are responsible for every thing, they get frequently into difficulties, and the Hoppo avails himself of such an opportunity to extort money from them. They are not allowed to retire when they please, but have to buy this permission very dearly. In every emergency, whether it concerns the province or the empire, they are required to offer a patriotic gift, and are remunerated by nominal rank, or even a peacock's feather, for their loyalty. If any one becomes bankrupt, and is found guilty of knavery, he is banished to Ele, and the other Hong-merchants are required

to pay his debts. To meet such occasional charges, the corporation has a general fund, arising from an additional duty upon certain articles. But the constant oppressions and exactions have reduced a great many of the present Hongs to a state of beggary, and it is very difficult to uphold their houses. Thus the trade is shackled, the duties are levied arbitrarily, and foreigners often engage in large dealings with outside merchants, who are not incorporated, and labour under fewer disadvantages. Nevertheless, business is transacted with very great exactness and dispatch, and few instances of fraudulent dealings ever occur. The heavy duties and multifarious exactions have given rise to extensive smuggling. The mandarins themselves engage very largely in illicit trade, and send the government cruizers to carry prohibited or smuggled articles. There is generally a considerable fleet of ships at Lin-tin, an island, a few miles from the Bocca-tigris, which never enter the harbour, but carry on there a large smuggling trade. As it proves a source of considerable revenue to the local government, this illicit trade has been, as it were, legalized, and every ship pays her fees to the mandarins, who send their servants to collect them. All the imperial prohibitions have proved ineffectual to put

a stop to the evil, which is now grown enormous.

Much more might be said upon the Canton trade, but it is foreign to our subject; we shall now briefly mention the places to which foreigners traded in former times, and where British ships lately have again endeavoured to open a trade.*

FUH-KEEN PROVINCE.

1. Amuy, or Emoei (Hëa-mun), in lat. $24^{\circ} 27' 26''$ N., long. $118^{\circ} 10' 30''$, is situated on an island, with an excellent harbour, which admits ships of the greatest burthen. Formerly great numbers of ships resorted to this emporium; but they were subject to heavy exactions, and finally forbidden to repair thither. The native trade to the islands of the Indian Archipelago, Formosa, and all the emporiums of the maritime provinces, is very extensive.

2. Chin-chew (Tseuen-choo), in lat. $24^{\circ} 36' 12''$ N., long. $118^{\circ} 42' 40''$ E., is situated on a small river, with a bay full of shoals and banks, so that only small brigs can proceed to the city.

3. Hok-chew (Fuh-choo-foo), the capital of the province, near the Woo-e hills, from whence we receive our black teas, in lat. $26^{\circ} 2' 24''$ N.; long. $119^{\circ} 20'$ E., is situated on an arm of the

* See Dr. Morrison's Notices concerning China, and the Chinese Repository.

Woo-lung-keang, called also Min river, which, ten miles below the city, is navigable. The entrance is rather intricate, there being only three feet at low-water over the bar, and several shoals and rocks in the track; but inside there is an excellent anchorage. The city is fully as large as Canton, and carries on a brisk trade in timber, teas, and tobacco. The Dutch traded here formerly, and a British ship, in 1832, did some business, though prohibited to trade.

FORMOSA (TAE-WAN).

This island has only one good harbour, as far as our knowledge extends. All along the west coast, extensive shoals prevent the near approach of ships. At Tae-wan-foo, where the ruins of the Dutch fort, Zelandia, are still visible, the Fuh-keën men carry on a large trade. This is also the case at Lo-kang (Luh-keang), Tam-suy (Tan-shwuy), and Ke-lang (Ke-lung). On the north side, in lat. $23^{\circ} 16' 48''$ N., long. $121^{\circ} 29' 30''$, there is a very good harbour. Spaniards, Dutch, and British ships, formerly traded here; and the latter have renewed their commerce at intervals. Sugar, rice, and camphor, are the staple articles of this island.

CHE-KEANG PROVINCE.

Sik-po (Shih-poo), in lat. $29^{\circ} 18'$ N., long.

121° 43' E., with an excellent land-locked harbour. A British ship traded here in 1833.

Chusan (Chow-shan), or Ting-hae-hëen, on the largest island of the numerous Chusan group, with an excellent harbour, in lat. 30° 26' N., long. 121° 56' E. Here, as well as on the adjacent islands, a very large trade is carried on. There are many good harbours in the neighbourhood, well sheltered, and with deep water. The Portuguese had here a large factory: the ruins of a British factory are said still to remain. Only lately a few ships have revisited these islands.

Ning-po-foo, in lat. 29° 33' 12" N., long. 121° 17' E., on a creek. A very beautiful place; with an extensive trade in raw silks, silk piece-goods, and green teas. Both the Portuguese and English traded to this emporium. Those efforts, which have latterly been made to renew the trade, have not succeeded well. Ships cannot go up to the city, but anchor at Chin-hae, near the entrance to the creek.

Chapo (Cha-poo), in lat. 30° 39' N., long. 120° 41' E., the Chinese emporium for Japan; with a tolerable harbour. The Chinese permitted the Portuguese, in former times, to trade here; but the efforts of a British ship, in 1833, to open a trade, proved ineffectual.

KEANG-SOO PROVINCE.

Seang-hae (Shang-hae-heën), on the Woo-sung river; the entrance leads over an extensive bar, so that only ships which draw not above fourteen feet can go up to the city, which is in lat. $31^{\circ} 9' N.$, long. $121^{\circ} 4' E.$ Perhaps the largest emporium of the empire, where an extensive trade is carried on; yet the two British ships which visited this port, in 1832, did scarcely any business.

We pass over with silence, Kaou-choo, in Shan-tung province; Teën-tsin, in Pih-chih-le; and Kin-choo and Kae-choo, in Leaou-tung; Yae-choo, on Hae-nan; with minor emporiums. For, though the native trade in these harbours is very considerable, British enterprize has never overcome the obstacles to opening a trade on the coast of these provinces. We have hitherto been retrograding, not progressing.

PORTUGUESE.

After the overthrow of the Byzantine empire in 1433, the communication with Eastern Asia was greatly obstructed by the unjust restrictions of the Turks. The Christian nations of Europe were therefore on the alert to discover another track of obtaining the commodities of the East. Portugal was then just rising into

notice as a commercial nation ; its princes and subjects pursued their discoveries, till they had sailed round the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at the Malabar coast, 1496. From thence their conquests kept pace with their discoveries. After having possessed themselves of the rich emporium of Malacca, whither many Chinese junks traded, they were tempted to go in search of the famous Kathai, the land of wonders, which the great Columbus had sought to reach by another route, with the most anxious desire. Raphaël Perestrello, therefore, left Malacca with a junk, and arrived in China, in 1516. He was successful in his voyage, and this gave rise to an expedition of greater importance. Fernao Peres de Andrade, who had eight vessels under his command, after having received orders from his sovereign to survey the ports of China, sailed for this country in the following year. The sight of eight large vessels, and the hardy features of the crew, struck the Chinese, who are always on such occasions conscious of their own weakness, with utter consternation. They were surrounded by a large imperial naval force, and only two ships, which had on board an envoy, T. Pires, sent by the viceroy of Goa, were permitted to proceed from San-shan, (Sancian, or St. John's), where the others remained at anchor to the provincial capital of Canton. We shall

in the course of this history, be under the painful necessity of relating many aggressions on the side of these new guests. The reader, however, must always remember, that the provoking system which the Chinese follow in their treatment of strangers, has often been the cause of bloodshed and reprisals. In Europe, where we are taught to consider the mandarins as patriarchs, ruling over a nation of beloved children, we can only ascribe every lawless act to the wantonness of our countrymen. But every one, who is in the least conversant with the Chinese government, will have found, that the mandarins always oppress foreigners, and extort money from them, wherever this can be done with impunity. The Chinese merchants have a leaning towards impositions, the constitution of the empire rests upon the basis of excluding all foreign intercourse, and to restrict mercantile connexions with foreigners as much as possible, by vexatious and petty annoyances. Europeans, who meet with such an anti-national reception, and suffer in their speculations by the heavy impositions, will frequently have recourse to violence, in order to get their grievances redressed. But if they had stopped here, we should find no reason to blame them for having used the only means left to them in order to succeed in their trade. But once convinced of the weakness of the

Chinese government, they become aggressors in their turn, and embroil themselves with a nation, which has nothing to oppose to downright violence, but low cunning. After this general remark, we shall relate the events with impartiality, and leave it to the reader to draw his own conclusions.

Andrade had ingratiated himself with the naval commander of the imperial fleet, by liberal bribes. Money will effect every thing in China, and all tribunals and officers are unlocked by its magical influence. Pires, as an envoy from his master, came to conclude a commercial treaty with the emperor, and was friendly received by the governors at Canton. But his journey to the court was deferred, for the imperial council had not yet decided what measures to adopt. The late sultan of Malacca had arrived at Peking, acknowledging himself a vassal of the imperial empire, in order to obtain the countenance of the universal, political father, to reinstate him in his possessions, wrested from him by the Portuguese. This circumstance greatly injured the mission.

But Andrade, anxious to secure success to the trade, was unsparing in promises and bribes. He loaded several vessels, and sent them back to Malacca. But whilst he was successfully negotiating for the privileges of trade, he received

news that his fleet had been attacked by pirates, and his people reduced by disease. Some of his vessels went with a Loo-choo junk to Fuh-keën, and from thence proceeded to Ning-po, where they founded a settlement, and carried on for a long time a lucrative trade. The elder Andrade had sailed, and his brother, like himself, always on the alert to effect his purpose, had established a settlement upon St. John's. Here he was attacked by the Chinese fleet; and courage (a scarce commodity), failing the imperial commander, they made a regular blockade of Andrade's squadron, until he made his escape in 1521. He is accused of having joined pirates, which never was proved, but his stubbornness is greatly exposed in a statement forwarded by the local government; the Portuguese are described as a nation, which merely came to spy out the land, and afterwards to lay it waste with fire and sword.

Pires had to wait three years, during which time he was treated with the utmost contempt, before he could effect his embassy. When arrived at Peking, he was compelled to worship a wall, behind which the emperor was said to be seated. Unhappily, the emperor died, and his successor, Kea-ting, wished to sacrifice the ambassador to the manes of the deceased monarch; but after submitting to the severest humili-

liations, the ambassador and his suite were permitted to return alive to Canton, under the strictest custody, as if they had been convicted felons. Andrade's measures had greatly contributed to bring on this disagreeable conclusion. The Portuguese were ordered in haughty terms to restore Malacca to its rightful owner, and never more to appear in any Chinese harbour. They had been accused of horrible crimes, and it was hinted to them; that their ignorance of the laws of the celestial empire, alone pleaded their exemption from undergoing capital punishment. A squadron, in which was one ship from Lisbon, had likewise arrived in Canton river; two others joined this fleet; they were loaded with ammunition. Such a great number of ships gave umbrage to the suspicious Chinese government, and the acts of the commander were not calculated to conciliate the goodwill of government. The Chinese admiral attacked and blockaded them, until a reinforcement of two other ships arrived. The Portuguese, now in their turn, assaulted the Chinese admiral; whose fleet, after having been defeated, was dispersed by a heavy gale. To retaliate the injury done to the imperial navy, the Chinese government put the Portuguese prisoners to death; and when Pires arrived at Canton, he was, with his whole train, thrown into prison and murdered.

Ignorant of the fate of his countrymen, Melho Coutinho, arrived the next year. The Chinese government, actuated by a spirit of dark revenge, killed the greater part of his crew in a scuffle, which ensued at a watering-place at Tam-ao ; and thus the trade with foreigners was for some time interrupted. The Chinese government, though pretending to view this paltry affair with the utmost indifference, was very soon sensible of the advantages, which the people had foregone. We quote the statements of their own authors, who speak of this matter impartially.

As early as 1420, under the reign of Yung-lo, a Chinese envoy, Kwang-leang-sze, was commissioned by his majesty to go to all the nations on the south-west, and the nations of the Western Ocean. During the reign of Seu-en-tih, some officers of the palace accompanied travellers to all the foreign courts, and were well received by them. A mandarin, of the name of Ching-ho, went overland with several hundred men to the Bay of Bengal. From Koo-le, he proceeded by sea to Arabia Felix ; where he was well received, and brought an ambassador back to the Chinese court. Këa-tsing, 1550, was advised by some eunuchs to send similar envoys in quest of pearls and precious gems ; but this was pre-

vented on account of the want of documents, which had been stolen. Yung-lo had sent envoys to all the surrounding foreign nations, to invite them to come with tribute, on all which occasions they were expected to trade.

When the foreigners of the Western Ocean, called Fuh-lang—Franks, abruptly entered the district of Tung-kwan, they struck terror far and near with the roar of their guns.

Subsequently to the prohibition of foreign trade, the Foo-yuen at Canton, addressed the emperor, by saying :

“ A great part of the necessary expense, both in the officers of government and people at Canton, is supplied by the duties levied on merchants. If foreign ships do not arrive, both public and private concerns are thrown into much embarrassment and distress. It is therefore requested, that the Franks may be permitted to trade. From this four advantages will arise.

1. “ In the beginning of this dynasty, beside the regular tribute of the several foreign states, a small per centage was taken from the remainder, which was adequate to the government expenditure.

2. “ The treasure appropriated for the annual supply of the army in Canton and Kwang-se, is

entirely drained, and our dependance is on trade to supply the army, and to provide against unforeseen exigencies.

3. "Heretofore, Kwang-se has looked to Canton for supplies. If any small demand is made upon that province, it will be unable to comply with it. When foreign ships have free intercourse, then high and low are all mutually supplied.

4. "The people live by commerce; a man holding a small quantity of goods sells them, and procures what he requires. These things pass from hand to hand, and in their course supply men with food and raiment. Thus the government is assisted."

Yung-ching, at a much later period, allowed the inhabitants of the maritime provinces to emigrate, and make voyages to foreign parts, under the condition of returning to their native country. The rice trade to Siam was even encouraged, by holding forth a premium to all those who engaged in it to any extent. We may infer, that the Chinese government is more reasonable than many of its admirers in Europe, who consider the Chinese anti-national system, as most excellently calculated to promote the welfare of the nation.

Like all restrictive laws of China, not founded in justice, the prohibition of foreign trade was

without effect. The trade was carried on at Teën-pih, (or Teën-pak) to the west of Canton. In 1534, Kwang-king, an officer of that district, influenced by a considerable bribe, requested his superiors to have the trade transferred to Macao (Gaou-mun), a peninsula constituting a part of the Heang-shan island, and joined to it by a small isthmus, in $22^{\circ} 11' 30''$ N. lat., and $113^{\circ} 32' 30''$ E. long.; eight miles in circuit, the greatest breadth being one, the length three miles;—a rocky, hilly territory. This had been long ago the resort of many hordes, who wished to escape the oppressions of the mandarins, and the legal duties imposed upon their goods. The Portuguese erected here, in 1537, some sheds, in order to dry goods, destined for tribute, which had been damaged in a storm. These temporary sheds were very soon exchanged for substantial buildings, and the mandarins, prompted by fear, or induced by bribes, connived at this encroachment. Whilst this infant settlement was in progress, their hopes at Ningpo, from whence they had carried on a very lucrative trade to Japan, were finally blasted. The Portuguese adventurers, who at this time crowded to China, were often men of the worst characters, even criminals, who were banished from the country. Their misconduct on one side, and the vexatious behaviour on the

side of the Chinese, caused a revolt, which ended in their expulsion from Chinchoo and Ningpo.

The unwearied Francis Xavier, had been anxious to introduce Roman Catholicism into China, by an embassy to the court of Peking. A private individual furnished the funds for this undertaking, but the governor at Malacca appropriated the money to the use of government, and the expedition could not proceed.

The Chinese government viewing this nascent colony with a very jealous eye, the supreme government of Canton cited before them the judge and captain of the place. In consequence of these summons, M. Ruggiero and M. Penella were dispatched to the viceroy. This grandee upbraided them for their wilful disobedience of the celestial laws, by creating for themselves their own laws, and threatened to expel them. This harsh language was very soon smoothed by rich presents, and thus they received permission to remain at the place. As an acknowledgement of their vassalage they had to pay a ground rent, amounting latterly to 500 taëls per annum. From this moment Macao became the central station for the Portuguese-Chinese trade. Many Chinese flocked thither, and the government appointed a mandarin to govern their natural subjects, without the interference of any foreign power. Moreover they prohibited, in 1612, the

Portuguese from building new houses. This unreasonable prohibition, after having granted them full tenure of the island, was productive of a great income to the local mandarins, who sold their connivance for considerable sums. Even the repair of old houses was not allowed, unless a special permission had been previously obtained. This law was instituted to prove a check upon the insolence of barbarians, who had built better houses than any in the whole empire, and to teach them to depend entirely upon the compassion of the son of heaven.

From Macao they regularly resorted to Canton. The imported goods were valued and the duties paid in goods, till 1582, when silver was required; on their exports they paid six per cent. They sent annually a deputation to Canton, who were entrusted with the management of business, and paid at their arrival, besides the duties, 4000 dollars as a present to the mandarin, and at their departure 8000 dollars. At first the market was open only once a year, but from 1580 twice; in January began the purchase of the goods for the India market, in June for the Japan trade, which there was carried on to a very great extent. Many ships besides engaged in smuggling, to the great annoyance of the supreme government.

Meanwhile the Dutch having become very

powerful in India, waged an exterminating war against the Portuguese, to drive them out of their Indian possessions, and to engross their trade. Macao was considered one of the best situated places, to carry on trade both to China and Japan. In 1622 Reyerszoon anchored in Macao roads, with fifteen ships. He began to disembark, and drove the Portuguese before him. At this sudden appearance of the enemy, the tocsin rang, and the whole population took up arms.

The Dutch had nearly passed the hermitage of Guia, when a heavy battery was opened upon them from the Monte. Anxious to form a rallying point, they posted themselves at the foot of the Guia, but were attacked with so much violence in the rear that they were forced to retreat as speedily as possible, with great loss. The slaves had joined in the general fight, and having behaved bravely during the battle, were emancipated by their masters; and the viceroy remunerated their services by presenting them with 200 peculs of rice. This attack was renewed in 1627. On this occasion the Dutch admiral's ship was burnt; and the fleet, apprehensive of succour from Manilla, left the roads, without having effected any thing.

By this time Philip II. had been acknowledged the lawful king of Portugal. He sent

from Manilla a friar, to invite the people of Macao, who had created for themselves a republican government, to submit to the Spanish monarchy, 1582. In this proposal the inhabitants of Macao readily acquiesced, and remained annexed to the Spanish dominions till 1641. It was during this period that the unfounded rumours of Cataneo's ambitious views upon the crown of China were spread. This occasioned general consternation amongst the citizens, who had by degrees grown rich. The Chinese became afraid of their unbidden guests, and stopped all supplies of provisions until the rumour had subsided. The Jesuits had at this time raised a few miserable huts and a chapel on the Ilha-verde, near Macao. A Mohammedan military mandarin mistook this settlement for a fort. He boldly attacked it when the Portuguese were at church, but was afterwards killed in the scuffle which ensued. The matters were compromised by the literary mandarin at Heangshan, who erected a stone upon the island, on which an inscription was engraved, stating that the island belonged to the Chinese empire, whilst the Jesuits remained in possession of it.

The trade at Canton had hitherto been carried on to the mutual interest of both parties, when the Chinese, wearied with the presence of the foreigners in the provincial city, confined the

trade solely to Macao, in 1631. A company of merchants appointed by government, had to furnish the exports, and to transport them to Macao, where they received, in return, the imports. But this regulation ended in smoke. The Chinese merchants, oppressed by their own government, were constrained to impose upon the foreigners to such a degree, that the trade would entirely have become extinct, if the Macao authorities had not applied to the supreme government at Canton. The mandarins wrote in consequence to the emperor, saying: "Macao was formerly an insignificant place; it is now a kingdom; it has many forts; and a great, insolent population. It would be proper to inquire how much rice and liquor the Portuguese may want, and let them have the supply, and entirely debar them from the commerce at Canton." The emperor assented to this proposition; at the same time the mandarins had been fed, and matters were compromised, trade being carried on just as before.

The Portuguese had been for forty years in the undisturbed possession of the Japanese trade, and gained immense profits; but in 1614 the emperor of Japan proscribed the Christian religion, and restricted the Japanese trade with foreigners. Tanogun Sama finally expelled the Portuguese, and forbade them, under penalty

of death, ever to return again. The city of Macao suffered greatly by this new regulation, and therefore sent four very respectable citizens to Japan, in order to bring the matters again to a good train. With the exception of a few black men, the whole crew and ambassadors were massacred by the Japanese. The vessels never returned from this disastrous voyage, 1640. Any other European nation would have revenged this national insult, but the Portuguese had become too weak, and all that John IV. at his accession to the throne of Portugal, could do, was to send an ambassador, in order to signify his exaltation to the throne. They tried the last time, in 1685, to re-establish their trade, by sending back a number of shipwrecked Japanese to their own country. The Japanese did not molest them, but strictly prohibited their re-appearance on the coast of Japan.

The most valuable trade for Macao was thus lost; the English and Dutch entered into competition with the Portuguese in the Chinese market, and from this moment Macao began to decay.

By acknowledging the emperor of China as a liege lord, the Portuguese were sometimes suffered to send an envoy to Peking with tribute, on which occasions they were treated with mag-

nificence and liberality, and enjoyed liberty to range at pleasure over the country. During the decline of the Ming dynasty, they sent, amongst other articles of tribute, three guns, which were afterwards imitated by the Chinese founders. At the approach of the Tatars, Rodrigues, a missionary, was sent to Macao to call in the aid of the Portuguese, who sent accordingly four hundred well-disciplined soldiers, with three cannons, as far as Nan-chang-foo, the capital of Këang-se; here they received the news that the Tatars had been repulsed, and had to return, without either effecting any thing, or receiving the Chinese subsidies. How much soever the Chinese may boast of their power, their application to a small colony for four hundred auxiliaries, fully proves their weakness.

At last the victorious Mantchoos took possession of Canton, 1650, and the Portuguese were summoned to appear before the viceroy. A deputation of several gentlemen departed for Canton, loaded with presents for their new masters, and found favour in their eyes. The Tatars graciously condescended to receive the homage of their humble vassals.

Kang-he, unable to subdue the Fuh-keën pirates, issued an edict, whereby all inhabitants along the coasts of the maritime provinces were

ordered to destroy their dwellings, and retire for about five leagues into the country, under pain of death. Macao was to have been involved in the general ruin, as a maritime place, and owed its preservation to the influence of Adam Schaal, the missionary, who interceded for them to spare their settlement. A Chinese naval commander, however, anxious to put a stop to the whole trade, was about to confiscate all the Portuguese ships and cargoes, when suddenly his wrath was appeased by enormous bribes. Trade was now recommenced under great disadvantages, for the Portuguese had to obtain a license before they could leave the port.

To remove all these difficulties, and save the colony from ruin, an envoy, Saldanha, was dispatched to the court of Peking with rich presents, which the city of Macao had procured. He went by way of Canton, in a boat, which had a flag inscribed, Tribute-bearer, and arrived in 1667 at the place of his destination. His endeavours to mitigate the sufferings of his fellow-citizens proved fruitless, and he returned with the news that they must trust to themselves. The trade rapidly decreased; there was no commercial enterprize, no vigorous exertion to retrieve the loss; other nations were able to trade at a cheaper and more profitable rate; even the few ships which remained the property

of the citizens, and there were finally only two, could not be employed. At this critical juncture, Kang-he declared all Chinese ports open for foreigners, 1685. The Portuguese at Macao had now again tendered their homage to their native king. They might have expected some aid from the mother country, or have tendered their allegiance to Spain; on the contrary, they were most enthusiastic in their loyalty towards the house of Braganza, and sent their new king 200 brass guns and a considerable sum of money.

Kang-he pursued his liberal course for some years; when some of his Canton officers made the most serious representations, that liberal measures were fraught with the utmost danger to the state. They described the Europeans as a daring, unruly race; represented the Chinese who went abroad, as disaffected towards their own government, and ready to join the barbarians in conquering China. Kang-he nominated a commission, to deliberate upon the subject. The result was, that all Chinese subjects were prohibited from going to any country, south of China, either as traders or emigrants. Macao retained the privilege of a free trade. The viceroy even offered to the senate at Macao, to make this place the general emporium of foreign commerce, and grant the city the duties on all im-

ports. Prompted by a narrow policy, lest the foreigners might engross the Chinese trade, the Portuguese rejected this brilliant offer, 1717. Even, when it was again proposed, in 1732, the city rejected it, upon the suggestion of the viceroy of Goa. What a place would Macao have been by this time, had this offer been accepted! Their shipping, which in the meanwhile had increased, was restricted by Yung-ching to the number of twenty-five vessels, of which the names, which, up to the present time, have never changed, were noted down by the Chinese. Macao felt less the consequences of the decay of Portuguese power and trade in Asia than the other settlements. To conciliate the favour of the Chinese, and to give no umbrage to their jealousy, the Macao government acted the part of mediators between the contending missionaries in China; and by the mediation of John V., king of Portugal, requested the pope to grant the Chinese converts liberty to practise the Confucian rites. There had previously arisen some difficulties between the king of Portugal and the pope, about the right of investiture of Chinese bishops; but this difference was amicably adjusted, by dividing this privilege between the contending parties. When, however, Yung-ching proscribed Christianity, his Portuguese majesty sent De Sousa e Me-

nezes, with Father Magelhaens, to China, (in 1726,) in order to intercede in behalf of popery. He was urged by the viceroy of Canton to proceed immediately to Peking; but the ambassador requested the mandarins to forward a letter, wherein he alluded to the distinction between a vassal and an independent monarch; in order that he might be treated by all public officers with due respect. The viceroy waived this request; but assured him that the disgraceful term, Tsin-kung—tribute-bearer, should by no means be applied to him. In 1727, the ambassador made his splendid entry into the capital; and, in order to show his liberality, scattered a great quantity of crusades amongst the thronging populace. Two court mandarins preceded him, when he was about to obtain an audience; the ambassador carried his master's letter with both hands, and was followed by his retinue. Then entering the western gate, he ascended the steps of the throne, and presented his credentials in a kneeling posture. After having quitted the hall by the same way, he performed the act of obeisance with his whole retinue. When this ceremony was over, he was brought to the foot of the throne, and seated at the head of the grandees. He then was permitted to deliver his speech, which he did upon his knees. Some days after this, he delivered his rich presents: the emperor

viewed them as so many tokens of affection from the king of Portugal. He and his people were allowed to walk about in the capital wherever he wished. When he had his audience of leave, at Yuen-ming-yuen, the emperor presented him with a cup of wine, and sent him, from his own table, several dishes. The imperial presents were trifling; but the state sent the king of Portugal thirty chests of various articles. But though the reception was very friendly, no solid advantages resulted from this mission; which, notwithstanding the reluctance of the envoy, was performed with all the ceremonies of vassalage.

It was the policy of the Chinese to restrict, as much as possible, the privileges of the Portuguese; who, on the other hand, were anxious to extend a territorial jurisdiction over the Chinese inhabitants. Their encroachments were met with Chinese subtilty. The latter drew up twelve articles, to which the Portuguese had either to subscribe, or to leave the country. One article forbade them to make proselytes of Chinese subjects. This shocked them; and they requested the king of Portugal to send an ambassador to China. Pacheco e Sampayo proceeded accordingly, in 1753, to Peking. The magistrate published, on this occasion, the following proclamation: "I hereby inform you, that the kingdom of Portugal has never been

in the habit of paying tribute. At present, the new sovereign of that realm sends an ambassador, who is at Macao, to offer some objects of curiosity from that country, and to make obeisance, inquiring after the health of the emperor. We are informed that a mandarin is not to receive the said ambassador. Take care, and sweep the streets; be not noisy; do not call this ambassador a tribute-bearer, lest he be displeased and disgusted." Pacheco made a magnificent entry into Peking, accompanied by soldiers with drawn swords, for the protection of twenty-nine chests of presents, which were covered with yellow silk. After them followed the musicians, with trumpets and cymbals. The attendants and pages were all on horseback, having two black boys at the stirrups, whilst the secretary and two stewards rode on each side. The ambassador himself was carried in a rich magnificent sedan-chair, by eight Chinese bearers. Next to the chair, walked the deputies of the Macao senate, surrounded by many black boys, dressed as footmen. At last came twelve chests, covered with blue velvet, and laced with gold, which had the arms of Pacheco in relief, embroidered in gold and silver. Soldiers on horseback closed the train. The whole suite repaired to the house of the governor of Peking. They proceeded, a few days afterwards, in the

same order, to the imperial audience. The ambassador, after having ascended the steps to the throne, presented, kneeling, the king's letter. Keën-lung took it himself, and handed it to one of his grandees, who kept it above his head while the ambassador delivered his speech. The emperor sent him many presents; and had his picture drawn by a French artist, which was placed over the imperial throne, in a hall at Yuen-ming-yuen.

Notwithstanding these repeated efforts to conciliate the favour of the Chinese supreme government, their commercial relations were very little improved. During the time of free trade, which Kang-he had granted, every foreign ship could repair to the port of Macao, even in defiance of the Portuguese. Spanish vessels came in 1698 and 1700, and still enjoy this privilege. A French vessel from the north-west coast of America, being chased into the roads of Macao, in 1793, by an English man-of-war, the Macao government considered her a lawful prize. The Chinese commanded them to restore to the owners both ship and cargo; "If you do not comply," they said, "you shall not be allowed to reside at the place on the same footing as before." According to the regulations of Kang-he, the Macao shipping is divided into three classes; he prescribed the mode of measuring

them, and the rate at which the imperial dues must be calculated. The Chinese custom-house officer at Macao, performs the measurement in the presence of the procurator and commander, and receives the amount of measurement duties in cash. The ships are duly registered, but once entered, they have only to pay two-thirds of the measurement duties, whilst the Manilla and Europe-Portuguese ships have to pay the full duties. On the arrival of a vessel, the procurator transmits to the Tso-tang, and the residing mandarin of Casa Bianca, a manifest of her cargo. A ship cannot depart from the place without a Chinese passport. When a ship has become leaky, or wants any repair, the procurator has to petition the mandarins to permit her being repaired in the inner harbour. The charges on goods carried by the inner passage between Canton and Macao, being in general less than what is paid on goods to and from Whampoa and the duties levied by the Portuguese on articles of merchandize imported by vessels belonging to Macao, being very moderate, the natives often engage in speculations on board the Macao vessels. The foreign ships, which are not allowed to enter the inner harbour, either go to the outer harbour, the Typa, or discharge their cargo in Macao roads. This custom has latterly become very general, and even

large ships have unloaded and sent their cargoes on shore in Macao lighters, without any interference from the Chinese authorities.

The English government being apprehensive of an attack from the French forces upon Macao, sent, in 1802, a force to garrison the town, and defend it against any aggressions. However, the Chinese authorities maintained their indisputable right of liege lords to the peninsula, and the project was abandoned. But in 1808, Rear-admiral Drury took possession of the place, the immediate consequence of which step was, the stoppage of the English trade. An imperial edict arrived, which stated; "Knowing as you ought to know, that the Portuguese inhabit a territory belonging to the celestial empire, how could you suppose (a rather reasonable supposition) that the French should ever venture to molest them? If they dared, our warlike tribes should attack, defeat, and chase them from the face of the country. Aware of this truth, why did you bring your soldiers here? Repent, and withdraw immediately; permission to trade shall then be restored. But should you persist and remain, the hatches of your ships shall not be opened." The English garrison, therefore, withdrew on board the fleet, and the trade was carried on as before.

It has been very unjustly urged, that the

Portuguese never did any service to the Chinese to deserve the tenure of Macao. They have, on the contrary, repeatedly sent their ships to suppress the Chinese pirates, who swarmed along the coast. In 1809, when these free-booters had become very numerous, Macao furnished six ships, manned, armed, and provided with ammunition for six months, to act in concert with the imperial squadron. For this service, they received 80,000 taels and the promise, that they should be restored to their ancient privileges. The united squadrons blockaded the haunts of the pirates, who being starved, surrendered gradually. After this successful campaign, when the Portuguese insisted upon receiving their ancient privileges, the Chinese authority proved, by falsehood and evasion, that no such privileges had existed, and that they ought to conform to ancient laws; and thus the whole ended in smoke.

Macao, though under a weak government, has maintained itself, without proving a trouble to the mother country, and has often been enabled to make remittances to his Portuguese majesty. As early as 1585, the inhabitants of Macao, under the direction of the governor-in-chief and others, drew up rules for a municipality, after having received permission from Duante de Menezes, viceroy of Goa. Every free subject

of the crown of Portugal, born at Macao, and possessing the necessary legal qualifications, has a right to vote at the election of the members of the municipal government, who constitute the senate. This senate comprises amongst its members three vereadores, or inspectors of various branches of the government, and a procurator, who has the general charge of the town and of the revenue, and is also the organ of communication between the Portuguese and Chinese governments. There are, besides, two judges, a governor, who is sent from Goa, a chief justice, or minister, a dezembargador, and a bishop; but the bishopric is now vacant. Under the decrees of the municipal senatorial government, many arbitrary acts have been perpetrated. Anarchy began early and lasted 150 years, until in 1784, a regular form of government was established.

In 1624, Mascarenhas, a military governor, was assassinated for having encroached upon the rights of the senate and the people. Twenty-four ringleaders were by the supreme government at Goa sentenced to death, but reprieved by the king of Portugal. An ouvidor (minister) and administrator of the customs, resolved, with the senate, in 1636, to take no share in the payment of a sum, which the Macao merchants in Japan, had been forced to pay. The populace

rose ; the senators were violently dragged to the senate house ; forcibly seated, and compelled to satisfy the demands of the people. To restrict the arbitrary power of the senate, the governor was invested with greater authority. As soon as it was known, that the mother country had adopted a constitution, under the auspices of king John, the Macao citizens forcibly dispossessed their old rulers of their power, and established a constitutional government (1823): but it lasted only for a few months, and the authors of this new-fangled constitution were exiled for a time, but afterwards returned. Macao declared in favour of Don Miguel ; still acknowledges his sway, and on his accession to the throne, even sent him a sum of money.

Macao is garrisoned by Sipahis and country-born Macao-men, under the command of Macao officers and a European commandant. To defend the place, there are five small forts which have been erected much against the wish of the Chinese, who yielded to them the privilege, because they could not refuse it. To defray the annual expenses of the whole settlement, there are now 109,451 taëls required. But the income is not adequate to meet these demands ; though formerly there remained an annual surplus. The trade in Portuguese bottoms is languishing, for the Portuguese, not having kept pace with the

march of intellect, cannot sail vessels as cheaply as other nations. However, the foreign trade of Macao is greatly encouraged by the present governor, and thus it is hoped to meet the necessary expenditure. Some years ago, Macao flourished by carrying on the illicit trade in opium; but the government wishing to exclude all foreigners from this branch of traffic, forced the English ships to carry it on at Lintin, an island not far from the entrance of the Canton river. A small portion of this enormous commerce is still in the hands of Portuguese citizens. It has occasioned many disgraceful occurrences between the Portuguese and Chinese authorities, who are now regularly paid, and has often occasioned bloodshed. Another disgraceful trade is that in slaves at Timor. The Portuguese themselves think it below their dignity to perform any manual work; they therefore buy these slaves to do all kinds of drudgery. It has even happened, that a citizen who was sentenced to death by the law, has bought a black slave to die in his stead. The trades are all in the hands of the Chinese, who form the most numerous part of the population, and excel in industry and imitative genius. Foreigners were formerly not allowed to stay unless by special license. The Chinese authorities, however, gave full permission to all barbarians to remain at Macao, which the

Portuguese authorities at first refused to grant. However, when the foreigners became numerous, and the advantages accruing to the city were better understood, the Portuguese government conceded to the wishes of all the foreign residents. The English and American merchants inhabit the best houses of the city, on the Praya Grande, for which they pay high rents.

Amongst a nation like the Portuguese, so entirely devoted to the interests of popery, it is natural to expect that they should have built many churches at their new settlement: they have a great many, where they constantly perform worship and read mass. There are also a nunnery and some charitable institutions, which do honour to the name of Christians. A nun of Toledo, Jeronyma de Ascençao, being persuaded that she would save many souls from damnation, by repairing to a heathen country, founded the nunnery of St. Clara, which still exists.

Amongst all the institutions, the college of St. Joseph is the most eminent. There are six professors, who instruct in the Portuguese and Latin grammar, arithmetic, rhetoric, philosophy, and theology. There are at present eight Chinese boys, two Malays, and sixteen Macao born. But the learned institutions have greatly decreased since the suppression of the order of

Jesuits, which was a death-blow to learning. The number of priests is very great; the Spanish, Italian, and French missions have their agents and respective houses. Great numbers of Chinese acknowledge popery, but they are small in comparison with the bulk of the people. We do not wish to draw a picture of the present population; their want of energy and industry renders them prone to all sorts of concomitant vices; but the inhabitants are mostly a mongrel race, consisting of Mulattoes, who consider all work as unbecoming a free man. The Chinese authorities are now less afraid of the Portuguese power, as they have observed that their maritime force has sunk into insignificance. Other foreign states are more formidable to the celestial empire, and sufficiently engage their attention. But nevertheless the Chinese exactions are still the same; and a Chinese mandarin never scruples to take advantage of the weakness of these barbarians, who have not the means of retorting injuries done to them. Any other European power would never have suffered the degradation to which the Portuguese have submitted. We cannot approve of all their arbitrary steps, but at the same time we admire their patience, in having never repelled encroachments by force. Separated as they are from the Chinese empire,

by a wall at which is a military station,—the Casa Branca,—they look up with the deepest respect to the son of heaven, by whose compassion they are kept from starvation and utter ruin.

CHAPTER XXII.

DUTCH.

THE seven united provinces of the Netherlands having, during the latter end of the 16th century, shaken off the Spanish yoke, and their ships being excluded from visiting the ports of Spain, were forced to seek other fields for commercial speculations. In order to protect the trade, a company was formed, which sent their first ships, commanded by Houtman, who had been in the service of the Portuguese, to the Indian Archipelago. Encouraged by success, and being enabled to brave the weak Portuguese, who were very much incensed against these heretical intruders, they greatly extended their commercial operations. Having formed a factory at Bantam, in Java, they proceeded to visit those countries, with which, hitherto, the Portuguese and Spaniards had carried on a monopoly. By a strange

anomaly, the English company united with the Dutch in the prosecution of mercantile enterprise. Thus, having their hands strengthened, they were able to withstand the power of the natives, as well as of the Spaniards.

Shortly after their arrival in India, the Dutch participated in the lucrative trade to Japan. Anxious to enjoy the same privileges, which the Portuguese had hitherto possessed at their new settlement of Macao, they sent, in 1604, three of their ships to China. The Chinese were terrified at the appearance of a people, whose eyes were blue, their hair red, their feet one cubit and two-tenths long. As it was not on record, that so strange a nation had traded to the celestial empire, the Chinese authorities, at first, refused to have any dealings with them. The jealous Portuguese, at the same time, inspired the Chinese with suspicion. It was hinted, that they very likely were pirates; the Dutch denied this aspersion, and affirmed, that they were come for the sole purpose of bringing tribute: they were, however, dismissed without having effected their purpose. The Dutch East India Company having, in the meanwhile grown rich, and the nation, just escaped from slavery, possessing all the power of youth, they determined to carry their point in China. During the vigorous administration of the governor, Jan Pister Coen, a fleet, under

the command of Admiral Keizerzoon, sailed with strict orders, if trade was not freely granted, to effect their object by force, in 1622. Instead of negotiating, he immediately landed with eight hundred men, on the peninsula of Macao. This rashness occasioned his defeat. The Portuguese enraged, that these heretics dared even to disturb them in their abodes, under the wings of the celestial monarch, armed themselves and their slaves. They advanced in the rear of their enemies, who, attacked on both sides, sought their safety in flight. Many were killed on the spot, and others drowned, whilst swimming towards their boats. Instead of repeating the attack, and arranging a proper mode of carrying it on more successfully, Keizerzoon abandoned all thoughts of possessing himself of Macao, and hastened to the Piscadores, or Pang-hoo islands, situated between the southern parts of Fuh-keën and Formosa, in order to plant the Company's standard upon them. Such an undertaking might easily have been executed, if the Chinese, who occasionally visited these islands from the coast, had not annoyed them by fire ships, and thinned their numbers by treacherous attacks. After much bloodshed, a settlement was formed upon one of the islands, which have excellent harbours. Here they retaliated upon the Chinese by taking their junks,

and forcing the crews into their service. As a number of Japanese had settled upon the adjacent island, Formosa, the Dutch prevailed upon them to give them a grant of land on the coast, where their ships might refit on their voyage to Japan. But observing the growing power of the Dutch, who had built a small fort, they were unwilling to give any by fair means, and foul means were therefore employed to force them to quit the island. The Dutch easily extended their possession on the coast. The aborigines are an inoffensive race, easily subdued. China was at that time torn asunder by internal dissensions, and could not oppose the growing power of the usurpers. They established themselves at Ke-lung, (or Ke-long), on the north coast, and on the west coast at Tae-wan-foo,—where they built the Fort Zelandia,—at Tam-suy, and at Lo-kang. But they were not merely intruders ; the natives being without religion and very docile, they instructed many thousands in the truths of Christianity, who were baptized, and attached by the common faith to their masters. Fort Zelandia, was by no means a paltry defence to the nascent colony, being a square castle, with large bastions ; below which, towards the sea, was another fortification, consisting of two regular bastions, an excellent covered way, and four half-moons ; the whole united to the fort by very strong

walls, and defended by a great number of cannon, and a numerous garrison. The town was long and large, extremely well peopled. A poll-tax, at the rate of half a guildar a head per annum, furnished the revenue for the maintenance of the place. Being only 24 leagues from the coast of China, and 130 from Japan, it served as an *intermediae emporium* for both countries.

But this great success rendered the Dutch remiss. The fortifications were neglected, the storehouses emptied. Whilst every individual was anxious to advance his own interest, the state of the colony greatly decayed. Most of the ships, on their way to Japan, touched at Tae-wan. In both their home and return cargoes, the Formosan settlers dealt very advantageously, and amassed considerable property. The Fuh-keën junks also found their way to Formosa; many individuals were driven by war and rapine to seek a new home at Tae-wan; and thus trade and population increased, whilst the government lost its influence.

When the Tatars extended their sway and subjected all China, there was a Chinese tailor, in the service of the Dutch, called Chin-che-lung. Though in a humble station of life, he very soon discovered a great spirit. He gathered around him a number of desperadoes, who had sworn hatred to the Tatars, became a pi-

rate, and attacked the Tatar navy. The viceroy of Fuh-keën, being very fearful that he might soon make a descent upon the main, offered him the office of viceroy of Canton and Fuh-keën, if he would surrender. Confiding in his flattering promises, he went to Fuh-choo, was taken prisoner, and beheaded at Peking as a rebel. His son, Kok-sing, (Coxinga) now determined to revenge his father's death. He collected 600 sail, and requested the Dutch to assist him in so just a cause; but meeting with a refusal, he was anxious to punish them for the affront they had offered him.

As the Dutch had formerly negotiated with the Chinese government, which had freely offered them Formosa, in lieu of the Pang-hoo islands, over which they had no authority, they considered it their duty to maintain themselves in the possession of Formosa. To enforce their commercial demands, they kept a large fleet to plunder the Chinese coast, and intercept the vessels. Three ships had gone to Amoy to carry on the negotiation, but the troubles which filled the empire, prevented them from gaining their object. Proud of their naval superiority, they despised these semi-barbarians, who were arrogant enough to harbour thoughts of driving them from their possessions. But they were not aware of the great danger which threatened

them. Kok-sing, anxious to establish his government on the main, had tried in vain to settle himself on the southern coast of Fuh-keën, making Amuy his capital. He had defeated the Tatar fleet, and run up the Yang-tse-keang, in order to strike terror into the heart of the empire; but was repulsed with great slaughter. Having finally lost Amuy, there remained nothing but Formosa, which could afford him an asylum. Prompted therefore by despair, he collected many thousands of desperadoes, brought together a considerable fleet, and determined to wrest the island from the Dutch.

A few years before, Martini, a Roman Catholic missionary, had arrived at Batavia, and represented the new Tatar government as actuated by a very liberal spirit. Buoyant with hope, they sent an envoy to Canton, in order to open a trade with this great emporium, 1653. The envoy was sumptuously entertained by the viceroy, who seated him by his side, whilst the populace insulted him. The Portuguese represented the Dutch as pirates, eager to conquer China, who, by dint of arms, had taken possession of Formosa; formerly attacked Macao, at another time (in 1627) endeavoured to do so, when they themselves had burnt their admiral's ship; and now they had arrived for the sole purpose of attacking the celestial em-

pire. But, notwithstanding these warnings, the viceroy permitted them to build a factory at Canton; then again retracted his promise, and dismissed them, requesting the governor of Batavia to send an embassy to Peking. The affair was referred to Holland. In the meanwhile other ships arrived at Canton, with letters from the governor of Batavia. The viceroy denied them all privilege of trade, but nevertheless required from them the payment of 10,000 taëls: these measures induced the Dutch to send, next year, two ambassadors, De Keyzen and De Goyer, to Peking. They were willing to undergo all sorts of humiliation, in order to obtain their object—free trade to Canton. After their arrival at the provincial city, they waited upon his excellency, who detained them for several hours outside the wall, and confined them afterwards as state prisoners to their ships, until the pleasure of his imperial majesty should be known. We cannot, however, greatly wonder at this policy. Only four years before, Canton had been beleagured by the Tatars. Two Dutch gunners, who were married to Chinese women, had greatly assisted the Chinese in holding out against the besiegers, till the city was betrayed by the treachery of the Chinese viceroy. The Tatars rushed in, burnt and pillaged the place, and revenged themselves for the many fatigues

they had previously sustained. They therefore entertained no friendly feeling towards the Dutch; but, notwithstanding this hostile disposition, money adjusted the matter, the two mercantile ambassadors being very liberal in their bribes. Thus they were permitted to pursue their journey to Peking. To indemnify themselves and their masters, for the great expences incurred in this mission, they took with them a quantity of goods, which were saleable at Peking; but we ought not to wonder at this, every tribute-bearer, from Annam, Loo-choo, Siam, and Korea, does the same, the Chinese government permitting the traffic, to satisfy the cupidity of barbarians.

This mission enjoyed great liberties during the journey; for though they were considered as tribute-bearers to a new dynasty, which hitherto had received few pledges of the homage of foreign nations, they were not treated as dangerous persons. But on their arrival at the capital, the Roman Catholic missionaries were greatly disturbed; for, ascribing to these heretics the extirpation of popery in Japan, they were therefore apprehensive of a similar fate, if they did not undermine their influence. In a narrative of the embassy, a Jesuit says: "Four of us, brethren of the Society of Jesus, then living at court, resuming courage, resolved to leave no

means unessayed to overthrow the designs of the Hollanders, and with all diligence and vigilance to frustrate their undertaking. The 13th of this present February, I was with the emperor, who being pleased according to his wont to honour me with familiar discourse, fell in his conversation upon the Hollanders. This gave me an opportunity of painting them in lively colours, and particularly to put the emperor in mind of that great lie, wherewith they had armed themselves in coming hither, by boasting of the greatness of their dominions, as if they had been ancient and legal owners of great territories. But as the truth is, they are but violent possessors of a small part of a country, which they at first traitorously usurped, and have since rebelliously defended against their lawful sovereign. They then became rovers on the sea, seeking rapine there from all people, to furnish themselves with the means of maintaining their rebellion at home. Whereupon his majesty expressed himself, that two years since, upon their proffering it, he had denied them entrance into his country, and that he knew not how they had obtained it; meaning, that it either was from negligence, or surreptitious dealings of his officers, which I interpreted him to mean the bribing those of Canton. The emperor was well pleased at my information, and said he

would lay it up to be remembered at its proper season."

Yet the good sense of Shun-che prevailed over these intrigues, and the Dutch ambassadors were admitted to an interview. To tame, however, their fierce barbarian nature, they had at first to prostrate themselves in an open hall of the old palace, before numerous Chinese officers; which was very conducive to their expertness in performing the kow-tow before his imperial majesty. On the day of their audience, the ambassadors, with only six of their followers, were admitted into the outer court, where they were detained all night, with other tribute-bearers, who had arrived from the deserts of Tatar, and were dressed in sheep-skins. In the morning they performed the ceremony in the presence of the emperor, who however was so far distant, that they could scarcely behold the dragon face; and in order to mortify their pride, he took no notice of them. Upon being fed, they again bowed to the earth; and when the imperial presents arrived, they received them in a kneeling posture. An edict was issued, which commenced: "To the king of Holland, health and peace;" and whilst it commended his obedience in sending a tribute-bearer, granted him permission to send one every eight years, and praised him for his cordial care of justice, by subjecting himself to

China, and sending ambassadors through the wide sea, in order to pay tribute. They were, however, strictly confined during their stay at Peking; and on their return to Canton, were again subjected to heavy exactions; even one of their interpreters was murdered; no solid advantage was gained, though they now began to carry on the trade more freely. The "*Legatio Batavica*," originally published in Dutch, is a very interesting work, and exhibits a faithful description of the state of China immediately after the conquest. The Tatars were at that time wild and domineering, they ate the meat raw, and carried the bones in their pockets. China had greatly suffered by this revolution, many cities and villages were burnt down, and the people groaned under the misery to which they had been subjected.

We return to Formosa. In 1656, Frederic Coyet was sent thither, and aware of the intention of Kok-sing, he sent Pingqua, a merchant at the capital, to his countryman, under the pretence of negotiations; but in fact to act as a spy upon Kok-sing's actions. Some Dutch vessels had been taken by the Chinese near the Pang-hoo islands. The Dutch retaliated, by making reprisals upon some of Kok-sing's junks, which had treasure on board, destined for his army in Këang-nan. Finding himself destitute

of money, he had in consequence to disband his soldiers, and to give up the hope of possessing himself of this rich province. To retrieve his loss, he levied duties on Formosa. As soon as the Dutch discovered his assumption of sovereign power in their own territory, they seized upon his abettors. This step occasioned a mutiny amongst the Chinese settlers, who had already declared for Kok-sing. Many were taken prisoners and tortured, 1659. As soon as the state of things was known at Batavia, an army of 1500 men was sent to reinforce the garrison, and a squadron of ships to protect the place from any attack. Instead of pouring all at once upon Kok-sing, they lost time in fruitless parley with the rebel chief, who, after having been driven from the island Amuy, kept his court at Kimmuy, a large island situated to the north-east of the entrance to Amuy harbour. Van der Laan, the admiral, dissatisfied at the inaction of the governor, left the place. He had received orders to attack Macao, on his return, but fearing, that in doing so, he might lose the monsoon, he sailed to Batavia and accused the governor. Kok-sing had only waited for this favourable moment. As soon as the ships were gone, he embarked his troops, and appeared before Fort Zelandia. To prevent their landing, the Dutch troops marched out ; but the Chinese

had already disembarked 4000 men, who drove the Dutch back with great loss. The governor was forced to sink two ships, which lay in the harbour, lest they should fall into the hands of the Chinese, who had surrounded them with their whole fleet. Another ship was grappled by several junks, and blew up with the Chinese vessels. The others cut their way out, and made all sail for Batavia.

Unhappily for the garrison, a small fort had been left without a sufficient number of soldiers to defend it. The governor therefore, resolved to send an envoy to the commander Kok-sing, and to offer him the whole island if he would leave the Dutch in possession of Tae-wan-foo. Kok-sing, elated by his last success, commanded them to quit the island instantly, in order to restore it to its rightful owner, promising to take none of their goods, and to grant them a free departure. These ignominious terms were rejected by the Dutch. On the following day the red flag waved on their ramparts, whilst a small fort with 300 soldiers surrendered to the Chinese. Kok-sing began to invest the citadel, and planted his batteries before the town. The Dutch perceiving that the Chinese were very negligent in the work, made a successful sally and spiked the cannon, whilst they spread terror amongst the whole camp. But they did not derive the

great advantages which they might have done had the victory been followed up. To the great joy of the besieged, a fleet arrived in 1661 from Batavia. At the same time they received an advantageous offer from the Fuh-keën governor, to unite their forces with the Tatars, in order to extirpate the army of Kok-sing on the main. However, by the mismanagement of the commander, this pre-concerted junction was prevented, and instead of fighting against the enemy, Caeuw, the commodore, fled to Siam, and returned from thence to Batavia. Kok-sing, rejoicing at so sudden a change in the forces of his enemy, pressed the siege with great vigour and made a considerable breach in the ramparts (1662). Kok-sing, aware of his own defects, and apprehensive that new forces might arrive, sent a clergyman, Hancbrock, whom he had taken prisoner with several school-masters, to persuade the governor to surrender the fortress. They had given their word to return to the camp. Instead of insinuating to their countrymen the necessity of a surrender, they exhorted them to persevere to the last; returned to the camp of the enemy, and were all beheaded for not having succeeded in this negociation. Kok-sing's uncle was now desirous to raise the siege, but Kok-sing remained inflexible; he directed his batteries well, and threatened to take the place by

storm. Upon this the Dutch capitulated, and removed with all their effects on board the remaining ships, 1662. Coyet, on his arrival at Batavia, was thrown into a dungeon, and treated as a traitor. We are not astonished at the desperate valour of the Chinese, who had nothing to hope, if they failed in Formosa ; but that the Dutch did not employ the great forces which were repeatedly sent to them, to better advantage, is really surprising. The Chinese very soon took possession of the greater part of the island, where they long maintained themselves against an overwhelming force of Tatars.

To retrieve the loss, and to revenge themselves upon Kok-sing, who again had made conquest of some islands and places on the main, they entered into a defensive and offensive alliance with the Tatars. A Mr. Borel was in consequence sent as chargé d'affairs to Peking ; he had to insist upon the restoration of Formosa, and to second his request, a fleet of seventeen sail was sent to attack Kok-sing, 1667. When Admiral Borth arrived with this fleet in the Formosa channel, he found Kok-sing in possession of the Kimmuy (Quemoey) island, from whence the whole Tatar army was unable to dislodge him. He also made an attack, but was repulsed with loss by the brave troops of Kok-sing. But when the Dutch ships began to open

their broadsides upon the fleet of the enemy, consisting of 100 sail, the Chinese very soon felt the effect of powder and ball. It had been stipulated, that the Tatar general should attack the fortress on shore, whilst the Dutch engaged the fleet, but he remained inactive. Borth, nettled at the indifference shown by his ally, upbraided him in strong terms. The Tatar general excused himself by saying, "I was not able to advance, because my troops refused to follow me; but if you attack the fleet a second time I shall co-operate." The admiral took him at his word; he opened a heavy fire upon the Chinese fleet and forced them to seek safety in flight. The Tatars having again refused assistance, the Dutch acted independently of their allies, and took possession of Amuy. Kok-sing had fought bravely, and was killed during the engagement. Eager to regain possession of Formosa, the Dutch fleet sailed for that island, but were warmly received by the uncle of Kok-sing, and would have had to sustain a hard fight, if the old man had not proposed to conclude peace with the Tatars, and to grant free trade and a settlement to the Dutch. This design however, was frustrated by the son of Kok-sing, a hero as brave as his father, who defended himself obstinately, and forced the Dutch admiral to give up all hope of regaining possession of

Formosa. No further attempts were made for the repossession of this island, no peace was concluded, and the whole warfare, which lasted for several years, consisted in aggression and reprisals, whereby both parties greatly suffered, without benefiting the cause of either.

The trade to Canton, and to the principal emporiums of the Fuh-keën coast, was, during a great many years, carried on quietly. Though the exactions were great, they promoted their interests by bribes.

In 1740, the greater part of the Chinese, at Batavia, were murdered, by order of an unprincipled governor, Valkenaer, in cold blood. It is true, that a great number of Chinese had joined the Javanese insurgents, and were in arms against the Dutch; it is also true, that several respectable merchants, at Batavia, sent subsidies, and organized a plan to subvert the whole government; but this, surely, did not implicate the whole body of Chinese colonists; and it is certainly an act of cruelty without precedent. The governor was immediately recalled, to answer before the bar of the directors; but never reached Europe. Some Dutch ships, which arrived shortly afterwards, were not permitted to trade at Canton; but this suspension was only temporary; for the Chinese government disclaimed all relation with those unnatural sub-

jects, who, in quest of sordid lucre, could forget the tombs of their ancestors, and emigrate to a barbarian country. The fear of being entangled in a war was, perhaps, the principal reason for this indifference.

In 1750, a Chinese was killed by some Dutchman. The mandarins, having held a coroner's inquest over the deceased, required that the murderer should be delivered up to them for examination; and, if guilty, be punished with death. The Dutch supercargoes rejected this proposal, but promised to punish the culprit according to the laws of Holland. Having been found guilty, the Dutch chief sent a message to the viceroy, informing him of the time when the murderer was to be executed. Three mandarins arrived in boats, to witness the scene, and reported the matter to the viceroy.

During the year 1762, a regular Dutch factory was established at Canton. Their trade was now almost exclusively confined to this provincial city; but it proved a source of wealth to the company. In the same year, another murder was committed by a Dutch sailor, and similarly punished. The trade greatly prospered, until the unhappy revolution which drove the Prince of Orange to England.

When Keën-lung had reached the sixtieth year of his reign, it was hinted to the Dutch

chief, Van Braam, that an embassy to the mighty potentate, sent with the view of congratulating him upon his long and happy reign, would be very acceptable. The council at Batavia were very soon prevailed upon to enter into the views of the Chinese, in order not to be outdone by the English, who had an embassy, under Lord Macartney, dispatched from the mother country. Tit-sing, in conjunction with Van Braam, were therefore dispatched to Peking. In their progress through the empire, they prostrated themselves at least fifty times, and were frequently awakened from their nightly slumbers to perform the ceremony. Often were they obliged to spend the night in the open air, subject to the inclemency of the weather. They were treated as prisoners during their stay at Peking, though the compassionate emperor occasionally condescended to send them small presents of victuals : before this, the ambassadors of the Republic had to prostrate themselves nine times ; which, according to the ideas of the high personages, was merely performing the salute of honour. After many disappointments and evasions, Van Braam was finally admitted to the imperial presence (January, 1795), the first ambassador being unwell. Here he had to perform, with the Mongol and Korean ambassadors, the kow-tow. The emperor told him, that he

had now arrived at the eighty-fifth year of his age, and that Van Braam was the first Hollander who had been permitted to approach so near. Seated upon a carpet, they received a cup of milk, and some presents, consisting of tobacco-pouches and smell-bottles, a little tea, and some China-ware. They prostrated themselves as soon as these imperial donations were delivered to them; and remained spectators of a play, which was acted in their presence, until his imperial majesty retired. On returning to their lodgings, they found in their hotel (a stable), fresh pork and sweetmeats, which the emperor had sent them. They afterwards received permission to spend some time at Yuen-ming-yuen. The emperor gave there a great entertainment. As soon as he had arrived, all those present performed the act of prostration. The victuals, repulsive to an European stomach, in dirty basins, were served up very plentifully. When the monarch drank a cup of samshu (Chinese wine, or rather spirit), all his guests prostrated themselves before him. The emperor condescended to hand them a cup himself; the submissive ambassadors again performed the kow-tow; but Van Braam lost his hat in the act of paying homage, which greatly amused the emperor, and made him regard the sufferer with a great deal of kindness. On the following

morning, they had again to exercise themselves in the act of prostration, because some victuals of yesterday, which they found uneatable, were sent to them. But this was the least; they even received some bones which already had been picked, and might better have been thrown to the dogs, that they might gnaw off the remainder. On their way to Yuen-ming-yuen, they met his imperial majesty, and fell upon their knees whilst he passed in a sedan-chair. After many prostrations, genuflexions, and assurances of the warmest interest, which his majesty took in the welfare of the Hollanders, they were finally permitted to depart. Their embassy having been a mere mission of congratulation, no business had been transacted; and the only advantage gained was the exemption from duties upon the ship in which the ambassadors had arrived. They were certainly treated with a great deal of condescension; Keën-lung was flattered by seeing them perform the kow-tow without scruple; but this was all. Their affairs, at Canton, remained unaltered; their grievances were never redressed; nor did they reach the ears of the emperor. Their degradation was never indemnified by an adequate grant of privileges, which imperial compassion bestows upon submissive vassals.

When the war between Holland and England

commenced, the former country itself being finally incorporated in the huge French empire, the Dutch trade ceased entirely; but as soon as Napoleon had found a quiet asylum at St. Helena; and could no more disturb the nations, a few Dutch ships visited Canton. The agents of the Company had continued in China, and received their regular salary. A Dutch consul afterwards arrived to advocate the interests of his countrymen. The *Handels maatschappij*—trading Company—sent several ships to China; but the trade was never carried on to so great an extent as formerly. Much rice, however, is at present imported from Java to China, both by Dutch, English, and American vessels. No disturbances have lately occurred with the Chinese government. It is sincerely hoped that, as soon as the troubles in Europe have ceased, the Dutch trade will again begin to flourish.

The many thousands of Chinese emigrants who have settled at Java, constitute the most industrious part of the population; they are merchants and artizans, and engage in every undertaking whereby they can make money. Of late, the government has prohibited the Amoy junks, which annually arrive at Batavia and Samarang, to bring any Chinese emigrants. Java is already overstocked, and it is to be feared that the crafty Chinese will engross all

branches of industry. They are ruled by their own chiefs (captains), who are responsible to government for their good behaviour. Being in the possession of a great deal of wealth, they often become very obnoxious, by exerting their influence against the existing government: yet they are a valuable acquisition to the Dutch government, which has granted them great liberties and immunities. They have the free exercise of their religion, and are attached to idolatry even more than their countrymen in the Fuh-keën province. In their manners and in knowledge, they far exceed their friends at home. Their outward circumstances are much better; and they have surely not to complain of an oppressive government. Even their dwellings and food are much better than of those living at Amuy, the most celebrated emporium, where the greatest luxury reigns. Several Chinese merchants own native craft, which trade to Singapore, Borneo, and other islands, manned by their own countrymen. They also engage with Europeans in mercantile speculations, and amass great treasures, of which a part is remitted to their homes. As they have been settled for a great many years at Java, there exists a great number of country-born Chinese, who understand their own language very imperfectly, but speak the Malay; however, there are schools

for their instruction. A few of them have turned Mohammedans, and even performed pilgrimages to Mecca, but they do not amalgamate with the natives. In all the Dutch principal settlements there are Chinese to be met with. Bania is entirely inhabited by natives from the Canton province, who work the tin mines: at Rhio they work the gambier and pepper plantations, and constitute the greater part of the population. They occasionally send a junk, under the command of a Portuguese pilot, to Macassar, and carry on a very advantageous trade with Amuy. It is astonishing that the Dutch colonial government, having so many subjects of the celestial empire under their sway, does not encourage Chinese literature: it is hoped that this will be the case in future, as it would be very conducive to the welfare of their Chinese subjects, and worthy the attention of a Protestant enlightened government.

During the administration of General Van den Bosch, who paid the utmost attention to agriculture and colonial produce, an attempt was made to transplant the tea shrub to Java. This has been partly successful, and those engaged in it promise themselves a rich harvest. Some few hundred Chinese, who were engaged at Macao, to cultivate this plant at Java, broke

out into insurrection against their employers, after having remained for some time on the island. A great number were in consequence killed, and the remainder too much disheartened to attend to this business. When the news reached Macao, an inflammatory placard was stuck up in the streets, warning all the inhabitants to have nothing to do with barbarians, and vowing revenge for the murder committed. We sincerely hope that the Dutch may succeed without the aid of the Chinese, in the cultivation of tea.*

* See Canton Miscellany—"Het Verwaarloosch Formosa." Harris's Complete Collection of Voyages—"Van Braam's Voyage."

CHAPTER XXIII.

ENGLISH.

WHEREVER British influence has prevailed, mankind has been improved and enlightened, and lofty principles, with all the arts and sciences of civilization, have been widely propagated. No nation on earth has done so much for the benefit of mankind, or upon so extensive a scale as the inhabitants of the favoured British isles. Humanity and the glorious cause of Christianity have gained more since the English have spread themselves over the globe, than during all the ages since the reign of Constantine. We by no means wish to depreciate the merits of other Protestant nations, nor derogate from the praise due only to the Almighty, who bestowed upon Great Britain this great trust of enlightening the nations; but had the Portuguese and Spaniards remained in possession of their conquests in Asia, to the exclusion of every other nation, what would be the state of the eastern world at the present period?

Freed from the shackles of popery, England early rose into importance as a maritime power. True liberty, the soul and source of every improvement, called forth the energy of the British nation. Their commercial enterprises were now no longer confined to Europe, they followed the track of the Portuguese, and arrived in India. In 1596, the English first turned their thoughts to China, and one or two of their ships were equipped with a view of opening a trade. Queen Elizabeth granted letters of recommendation to the emperor, in favour of Richard Adam and Thomas Bromfield, merchants and citizens of London. In these letters, besides recommending the merchants and vouching for the probity of their dealings, the queen expressed her desire to be informed, through them, respecting those institutions, by which the empire of China had become so celebrated for the encouragement of trade; and in return offered the fullest protection to the subjects of China, should they be disposed to open a trade to any of the ports in her dominions. This expedition proved unfortunate, the ships being lost on the outward-bound voyage.

During the listless age of James the First, nothing more for the prosecution of the trade was undertaken. Queen Elizabeth had previously sent F. Milderhall, by way of Constan-

tinople, to the Great Mongol for obtaining certain privileges for the English Company, for whom she was then preparing a charter. He was long opposed by the arts and presents of the Spanish and Portuguese Jesuits at that court, and it was some years before he could entirely get the better of them. However, James, though by his contemporaries compared to Solomon, had not the enterprising spirit of that great prince, who sent ships to Ophir, whilst James not only did not set new expeditions on foot, but did not even follow up the vigorous measures of his great predecessor. On the accession of Charles I. there arrived some letters from Batavia, which stated: "The trade of China, now likely to settle at Tae-wan upon Formosa, is as an ocean to devour more than all Europe can minister, wrought and raw silks in abundance, and many necessary commodities, that all parts of India must have. These are to be purchased with the pepper, spice, and sandalwood of these parts at prices that we please; also with the silver of Japan, springing from the same silk of China, and in all probability with every sort of European commodities, especially woollen cloth, for the greatest part of the China empire stretches into the cold climate, and is defended with infinite troops of soldiers, whose

necessities do require more than we can guess at till experimented."

Two years later a correspondent from Batavia wrote :

" For these mighty monarchies, China and Japan, abounding with riches, are also civilized, peaceably to respond with all, but in a climate requiring that which neither themselves nor their neighbours enjoy, nor can be supplied with but by the English, which is clothing answerable to the magnificence of these nations, defensible against the cold, and convenient for their employment in travels, wars, and weather. Those clothes, which they now wear are silks, in summer season passable, but in winter they are forced to wear bombast, or ten coats one over the other, and that is useful. Silk being thus their clothing, and all growing in China, a stop of that intercourse were so material, that silk in China in one year, would be as dust or dung; and Japan beggared for want of clothing. But there needeth such a stop of intercourse and devised extremity, for the natural enmity between these two nations has so framed all for our purpose, that could Japan be furnished with any other clothing, not one Chinese durst peep into their country, which the Chinese well know, therefore though tolerated by Japan, yet none cometh

but by stealth, which would cost their lives, if known to their governors in China. Thus, with that which in our last letter was commended unto your consideration for Japan, may suffice to express that hopeful trade. Our next step is into China, so united unto Japan, that with no reason they may be separated."

Though there are some misstatements in the former letter, and the trade is too much magnified in the latter, it nevertheless proves the great interest which British merchants at so early a period took in the trade of China. We would not willingly subscribe to that meanness which rejoices at the existing enmity between two large nations, in order to benefit by their discord. The conjecture, that Tae-wan, on Formosa, would very soon become the staple of the Chinese trade, was very well founded; for an ambassador from Formosa had arrived in 1623 at Batavia, who offered the English, as well as Dutch, a free trade to this island. Yet the merchants at home were by no means so anxious to improve upon this proposal; the Dutch, on the contrary, very soon transferred their principal factory to the capital of Formosa.

The Portuguese, who had hitherto maintained themselves in the monopoly of the Chinese trade, were jealous of other nations, and had

the means of frustrating their endeavours for the opening of a free trade. Charles I., notwithstanding the exclusive charter granted by Elizabeth to a company of merchants, gave several English merchants license to trade to the East Indies. In the mean time, during the year 1634, a truce, and a permission for a free trade to China, and all places where the Portuguese were settled in India, was agreed to between the viceroy of Goa and the English president at Surat. This induced the British merchants to fit out several ships, under the command of Captain Weddel, and to send them to China, with a letter from the viceroy of Goa addressed to the governor at Macao.

Previous to this expedition, the Company's agents at Firando, in Japan, had employed three eminent Chinese merchants, connected with houses in Japan, to open a negotiation for a direct trade to China, 1614. A strong prejudice then existed in that country against the English, from the odium which the Hollanders had brought upon their national character,* by

* An unfounded assertion; for the Chinese in all the maritime provinces, except the provincial city of Canton, care very little about the flags of petty barbarians, but comprise them all under the general name of red-haired men, just as it is customary with us to call the nations of Africa, Southern Asia, and Australia blacks.

robbing Chinese junks under the English flag. But the Company's agent exposed this deception by making the real facts known in China, and the good report of Englishmen was in consequence higher than ever. It is stated, in a letter from the Company's agent, dated in 1617, that "no Chinese dare translate and forward the letters addressed by king James to the emperor of China, it being death by the laws of their country so to do, or to give passage to any Christian as the bearer of them. Those letters therefore, which were intended to give authority to a negotiation for the company, are lying dormant at Bantam. The Dutch still continue to plunder the Chinese junks in the English name, and have left two large ships to scour the coast of China, and to intercept the trade between Macao and Japan."

Previous to the 10th of March 1619, the Company's agent in Japan had employed, in succession, two commanders of Chinese vessels (one the captain of all the Chinese in Japan) to open and conduct a negotiation for a direct trade with China. He was, in consequence, informed, that the new emperor of China had granted unto the English trade for two ships a-year, and that this contract only wanted the ratification of two viceroys. The minority of the emperor arrested the proceedings, and the

union with the Dutch under the treaty of defence, was another impediment. Nevertheless, their Chinese agent bestowed a great deal of money in order to pave the way for the English trade. The council of defence had been purposely instituted in order to obtain the trade; the Dutch, whilst deriving support from both companies, had fortified the Piscadores, and other stations near the coast of China, and thus forced a trade, from which the English were excluded. The agents at Batavia therefore demanded in writing, that the combined establishment of both companies might settle the China trade upon Pulo Condore, or the Loo-choo islands, according to the contract, but received a frivolous, evasive answer.

After these negotiations and disappointments, Captain Weddell anchored with his fleet off Macao. The supercargoes went immediately on shore, with a letter from King Charles addressed to the Portuguese captain-general, soliciting permission to trade at Macao. The procurator of the city came on board, and affirmed that the subjection under which the Chinese authorities held the Portuguese at Macao, would be increased by the arrival of Captain Weddel's four ships; for the ship London, belonging to the English company; which only came thither on freight, though dispatched

from Goa on Portuguese account, had brought upon them a great fine. He was willing to provide them with refreshments, but saw in their object of trading insurmountable obstacles. However, the captain determined to discover the Choo-keang, or Canton river, and fitted out a barge and pinnace, with about fifty men, which, after two days' search, came in sight of the mouth of the river. "This was a goodly inlet, and utterly prohibited to the Portuguese by the Chinese, who do not willingly admit any strangers to the view of it, because it is the passage and secure harbour for their junks, both of war and merchantmen; so that the Portuguese traffic to Canton was only in small vessels, through divers narrow, shoaled straits, among many broken islands adjoining to the main. In order to get a pilot and interpreter, they boarded a junk; but finding neither, they used them with all courtesy and dismissed them, contrary to their timorous expectations. After a delay of several days a small boat made towards them, and having sold some refreshments, signs were made to carry some of the English to Canton and bring them to the speech of the mandarins, which the boatmen accepted of. But the next day, the pinnace being under sail, with a fair wind and tide, after having passed by a certain desolate castle, a fleet of about

twenty sail of tall junks, commanded by a naval admiral, passing down from Canton, encountered the English, and in courteous terms desired them to anchor, which accordingly they did. Presently, certain of the English went aboard the chief mandarin, where were certain negroes, fugitives of the Portuguese, that interpreted."

At first, the Chinese began to expostulate with them roughly for having discovered the prohibited goods, and the concealed ports and passages of so great a prince's dominion, and they were asked who their pilots had been. The reply was, that the English had come to conclude a treaty of commerce for the benefit of both nations, paying duties as well as others, upon the same score as the inhabitants of Macao. As for pilots, they had none; but had discovered more difficult passages than this by their art. Upon this the Chinese offered them a small junk to carry them up to Canton, and requested that the pinnace should not proceed any further on her way. However, when they had come within five leagues of Canton, they were prevailed upon by the Hoppo and other mandarins to return, and trade at Macao, whilst they pledged themselves to get them this permission from the lieutenant-governor.

Meanwhile, Captain Weddell had been amused with promises by the council at Macao;



but after the Portuguese fleet for Japan, consisting of six small vessels, had sailed, and were secure from attack, the council sent an official letter to the captain, positively denying him license to trade. No people from the English ships were allowed to go on shore, and the rice supplied from the town was found, by an experiment on some swine, to be very unwholesome.

The two vessels returned on the same day from the Canton river; both Chinese and Portuguese flouted the simple credulity of the English, though the latter, ignorant that the Chinese were the greater rogues of the two, ascribed their ill success solely to their Portuguese friends. All the ships now set sail for Canton river, and when they had arrived there, they again had a parley with the Chinese authorities, by means of some "*slender* interpreters." The mandarins readily promised every thing, and charged themselves also with supplying them with provisions, but asked a delay of six days, that they might duly report the matter to their superiors. The English ships rode therefore with white ensigns upon the poop; "but their perfidious friends, the Portuguese," (and they got the whole credit,) "had slandered them to the Chinese, reporting them to be rogues, thieves, and beggars." This was quite unne-

cessary, for the Chinese government is fully persuaded that all barbarians are such. However, the Chinese profited by the advice of their counsellors, and “ during the night, they put into the dilapidated fort opposite the anchorage of the ships, forty-six cannons, each piece being six and seven hundred-weight, and well proportioned. After the end of four days, having, as they thought, sufficiently fortified themselves, they discharged divers shot, though without hurt, upon one of the barges passing by them, which was gone out to find a watering-place. Herewith, the whole fleet, being instantly incensed, did on the sudden display their bloody ensigns; and weighing their anchor, fell up with the flood, and berthed themselves before the castle, from whence came many shot, yet not any that touched so much as hull or rope. Whereupon, not being able to endure their bravadoes any longer, each ship began to play furiously upon them with their broadsides; and after two or three hours, perceiving their cowardly fainting, the boats were loaded with about one hundred men, which sight occasioned them, with great distractions, instantly to abandon the castle and fly; the boats’ crews, in the mean time, without let, entering the same, and displaying his majesty of England’s colours upon the walls, having the same night put

aboard all their ordnance, fired the council-house, and demolished what they could. The boats of the fleet also seized a junk laden with boards and timber, and another with salt. Another vessel of small moment was surprised, by whose boat a letter was sent to the chief mandarins at Canton, expostulating their breach of truce, excusing the assailing of the vessel, and withal, in fair terms, requiring the liberty of trade."

Going on shore in search of provisions, the men were fired upon. When the Chinese saw the earnestness with which the English prosecuted their object, they sent an interpreter, and requested a deputation to be sent up to Canton. Accordingly, Mounteney and Robinson passed up the river, and anchored close to the city walls. The "admiral-general," with whom they had an interview, greatly blamed the behaviour of the Portuguese, according to the manner of the Chinese, and granted the permission for a free trade, and the liberty to fortify himself on any place outside the river. In consequence of this adjustment, Captain Weddell landed the guns which he had taken from the castle, and dismissed the captured junks. The supercargoes now went up to Canton, paid down 10,000 rials of duties, and began to load sugar and ginger, &c. Meanwhile the Portuguese, working

upon the avarice of the Hitto (perhaps Hoppo), contrived a plot against the English, which extended both to the supercargoes at Canton and to the ships. The Chinese, whose words they implicitly believed, are always guiltless. A regular protest was delivered to the commander for having forced the trade into the river; the supercargoes, who came down with two junks laden with merchandise, were arrested; and seven fire-junks were floated down the river, which the English, however, avoided and burnt. As the supercargoes were shut up in a house, and ran the risk of starving, victuals being denied them, they piled up wood against the door, and by means of a lens put fire to it. When the mandarins saw this, they began to inquire what they intended to do. Upon being answered that they were going to fire the town for having been treacherously dealt with, they opened the door, but the guard remained; so that Mounteney was compelled to sally from the house, with a sword in one hand and money in the other, in order to procure some provisions from the people who passed.

Meanwhile the fleet, not having advices from the merchants, but learning from general report that they had been imprisoned, pillaged and burnt many vessels and villages. But, no man coming near them, they resolved to get back

their comrades by force, or lose their lives. Having well manned their boats, they attacked sixteen sail of the imperial fleet, and fought with them for half an hour ; in which time they burnt five of them, took the town of Famon, spreading destruction with fire and sword, and finally went up to Canton to make their complaints. The affair was at length gradually adjusted, and a formal protest entered against the Portuguese, who were condemned to pay heavy bribes to the mandarins. They had afterwards, however, the impudence to capture four junks, laden with British goods, which were ultimately restored. It had been the wish of the supercargoes to remain on shore, in order to transact business, but the Portuguese disturbed them so much, that they were finally forced to leave Macao, and sail with the fleet. Mounteney had agreed with the admiral-general, that, for ample trade and residence, the English should yearly pay to the king 2000 taëls, four pieces of iron ordnance, and fifty muskets.

We have already touched upon the offensive and defensive treaty, which was concluded between the Dutch and English East India companies. The tenth article says: "Touching the question where, and in what place, the ships of defence shall be employed.—The defence shall be employed for the gaining of the trade

to China. And to that end the fleet shall be sent to the Philippines, there to hinder and divert the Chinese, that they shall not traffic with any others but with us. And there shall be chosen a place of residence, fitting for the trade, either in Lequeo Peuneno, Pulo Cordon, or in such other commodious place, as the common council of defence, shall find to be meet for this trade." The Portuguese, not receiving any succour from home, and being much distressed by the Dutch, and distracted in their councils, applied to the English for assistance, but could not obtain it. For, besides the treaty which prohibited such engagements, the Portuguese had chartered an English ship, and could not pay for her. The trade to China might, in this way, have been opened; but this would also, have been with a very great risk, and the English refused to charter their ships to their rivals.

But this treaty, between two rival companies, was very soon annulled by the massacre of the English, at Amboyna. However, this was by no means productive of any advantages to the Chinese trade.

In 1644, another ship arrived at Macao, and was amicably received by the Portuguese; but they put her under enormous exactions; and thus reduced her profits to nothing. Macao

was at that time greatly reduced, owing to the falling off of their former trade to Japan and Manilla. To add to their misery, the Chinese empire was embroiled in war; and these disturbances, with the poverty of the Portuguese, had left Macao destitute of all kinds of commodities, there not being to be bought in the city, silks raw or wrought, or China root, except what was old and rotten, nor indeed any thing but Chinaware, nor could any thing at all, during the ships stay there, be procured from Canton. The city itself, after the captain-general had been killed by the populace, was in open rebellion. Notwithstanding the little encouragement held out, the Court of Directors at home, endeavoured to persuade their supercargoes at Bantam, to enter upon fresh enterprises; but they excused themselves, for the country was then in the most miserable state, and it was stated, that 1000 pirates swept the sea. Finally, they almost relinquished every hope of ever renewing the trade; for the Dutch, who had hitherto traded to some advantage, were in 1653, ordered to leave the country instantly.

On 12th of July, 1664, the company's ship, the Surat frigate, sailed from Bantam to Macao, where she lay at anchor, from 12th of July till 12th December, and was employed during all this time in fruitless attempts to open a trade.

x 2

Having failed in her object she reshipped her goods, and quitted Macao. The Portuguese at first wished to fix upon the Surat frigate a portion of the fine, which they stated themselves to have paid for the misconduct of the free traders. They then demanded an enormous payment of measurage—compelled the supercargoes to deposit lead and pepper on shore as security for it; placed guard-boats round the ship and guards on board; compelled the ship to lie behind the island, lest the mandarins should see her, and amused the English for a time by a promise of getting a *chop* for them to proceed to Canton. It was also demanded of them by the Portuguese, that they should land their goods, that when they were gone, the mandarins might know in whose hands they were, and that the buyers might keep half the goods to furnish the mandarins with them, at what weight and price they pleased. The war in China was a great impediment to the trade, for the Tatar conquerors often deprived the town of Macao of goods and provision for months together. As to commodities there was no choice. The merchants at Canton were prohibited from bringing any goods down, the Tatars and pirates were lurking in the adjacent islands, and one junk that came down during the stay of the Surat with a valuable cargo, was captured.

The king of Formosa, the son of the celebrated Kok-sing, had at this time proved very successful against the Tatars, and possessed himself of several places along the coast. He followed the example of his father, by inviting Chinese and foreign merchants to repair to his ports, promising them an exemption from all duties. In consequence of this invitation, the English factory at Bantam, dispatched a vessel to Formosa, to conclude a treaty with the king, 1670. They were permitted to establish a factory, and to open a trade with Amuy. However, as soon as Ching-ching-kung, the king, saw the merchants in the harbour, he levied a duty upon their ships, alleging, that without this his government could not exist. The Court of Directors at home, had addressed to the king of Formosa the following letter :

“ May it please your Majesty.

“ By advice from our agent and council of Bantam, we understand, that upon your majesty's encouragement, they made a beginning of trade in your city of Tae-wan, and had been kindly received by your majesty there, but they did not find the prices and want of commodities to answer their expectations. Yet, that there were certain articles in proposition between your

majesty and them, for settlement of trade, and that they intended to return thither again.

“ And we, finding, that if your majesty give encouragement, there may be a considerable commerce by vending Indian and European commodities, taking in exchange such commodities as your kingdom does afford. To that purpose we have now sent out several ships with cargoes in part from hence, viz. cloths, stuffs, lead, and other commodities, and have appointed to be laden at Bantam, calicoes and other goods, severally for sale at your city of Tae-wan, with orders to take in exchange sugar, skins, and other commodities. This we intend yearly to do for the future, and to increase the number of shipping, as we find the trade to invite us.”

The letter then desires, that his majesty will, in a special manner, encourage the consumption in his territories of British cloths and stuffs, the company engaging to take in return all the productions of his kingdom, fit either for the markets of Europe or other parts.

There were several articles, upon which the company's servants could not agree ; as for instance, the unloading of the guns at their arrival, and the request of bringing ammunition for sale to the port, which was against the laws of

nations. The first voyages proved unprofitable ; however, they were not discouraged, but built large store-houses for the sale of British piece goods and woollens, which they were most anxious to introduce upon a large scale. Yet their endeavours to trade by way of Tae-wan to Japan, proved fruitless. To the great injury of the trade, the king engrossed the monopoly of sugar and skins, and acted very arbitrarily. However, the merchants greatly gained his favour, by bringing out a large store of cannon. Punhee, the prime minister, promised them, that if his master ever proved successful, he would remember their services ; and when master of China, grant them permission to erect factories in every part of this extensive coast. But nothing was obtained beyond promises, whilst the English merchants had to make him large presents for the liberties they enjoyed. However, all this might have been borne, if the outstanding debts of the company had been paid. The continual war with the Tatars rendered the trade very precarious ; moreover, the royal treasury was empty, and the army dissatisfied. All these circumstances concurred to make the removal of the factory to Amuy, a very desirable object. When finally, the Tatars took possession of the island, the factors had to make them very great and valuable presents, in order to

conciliate their good will. Notwithstanding, they were greatly involved by the oppression and extortion of the authorities, their condition was deteriorated by their new masters, and resolved in 1683, the year in which Kang-he granted a free trade to all the parts of China, to abandon the commerce. This resolution was sanctioned by the Court of Directors at home, who said Tae-wan is no longer of any value, and we shall not allow you to settle any factory there again. The factors accordingly removed to Amuy in 1689.

Though the trade at Amuy was also monopolized by the king of Formosa, it nevertheless proved a rich source of profit. Yet the wars prevented the arrival of a sufficient quantity of commodities to load the company's ships. As soon as the Tatars had regained possession of Amuy, the factors were blamed for having leagued with the enemy of the country, the king of Formosa. They had brought guns, muskets, gunpowder, and lead; and were asked whether this ammunition was destined as a present for the emperor. Upon their answering in the negative, they were forced to give up all the implements of war, and were only allowed to sell the lead to private merchants.

Upon an application made to the viceroy at Fuh-choo, (or Hok-chew,) which was accompa-

nied by a present, they were allowed to transact their business, but not to remain. The same wish of engrossing the whole trade, by forced sales made by government officers, was here also visible. All remonstrances to the contrary were unavailing; and they were obliged to submit to heavy exactions. At the return of the Tatar general, who had conquered Formosa, the factors waited upon him. He persuaded them to send an embassy to Peking; and the merchants, in their turn, requested that his imperial majesty might send an envoy to London. He made them great promises; which, however, proved delusory. They had even to pay the duties on a ship which could not sell her cargo. The mandarins were in general rapacious; and this was still more the case, when a Chinese had been killed by one of their crew. However, the matter was adjusted by large bribes and presents. When one of their supercargoes, a Mr. Roberts, had insisted upon the payment of a large debt, due to him by a Chinese merchant, he was chained and confined to the factory until he had agreed to take such goods as his debtor would give him for the sum he owed. A son of the emperor had sent, at the same time, his merchant to the emporium, and the English were obliged to sell him all the articles he wanted for the price he himself had fixed.

On account of these numerous grievances, the factory withdrew in 1709. In the meanwhile, some country ships found their way thither. One of them had seized a junk, belonging to Amoy, in satisfaction of some injuries received at that port. The emperor, being informed of this affair, punished the mandarin who had given rise to this reprisal very severely, and indemnified the owners of the junk. From this period, the authorities were actuated by fear, and treated the English much better than they had done before.

As the exactions at Canton were very grievous, the company proposed to renew the trade at Amoy; but this measure was relinquished at the request of the Foo-yuen at Canton, who pledged himself, by issuing a *chop*,* to show the English the greatest favour, if they would continue to trade at Canton, 1727.

In 1734, another effort was made to re-establish the trade. After many altercations respecting the measurement of the ship, they finally agreed to pay one hundred taëls above the Canton duty. We give the result of this expedition in the words of the records of the East India Company.

“The sum accepted, after many evasions; and the coid fixed at 14½ inches. A chop on

* *Chop*, a government document, or decree.

board, originally a proclamation of the emperor, to treat Europeans well, and punish those who cheat them. The hoppo, contrary to the paper of privileges, insisted on sending a person to reside in the factory, to take account of all goods, &c.

“After several interviews, agreed to inform the Te-tuh (admiral) that, if the demand was persevered in, they would leave the place. Among other demands, the guns, sails, powder, &c. were to be delivered into the custody of the Chinese. After occupying the house on shore some time, only two merchants visited them, who charged customs on their goods, although the hoppo had declared that no customs on their goods would be demanded. Badly supplied with provisions, and obliged in consequence to live chiefly on salt provisions. Merchants profess to be deterred from trading by apprehensions of the mandarins and hoppo. One of them demanded ten per cent. above the common price of goods. To-yan, a great mandarin, promises to rectify some grievances, and excuse others. At length, a grand chop sent down, granting liberty of trade, and stating: ‘That by a decree of the emperor and grand council, published four years since, the mandarins at Amuy are expressly forbid demanding the seven per cent. formerly paid them by all European ships; hoping, by this,

the Europeans may be induced to come and trade again at Amuy.' After interviews and discussions with several merchants, find it impossible to do any thing at Amuy this year. The English not being expected, the merchants had every thing to provide. Though promised a free trade, only two merchants were allowed to communicate; and their terms too extravagant to be attended to. The Hoppo, full of delays and prevarications, denying one day what he had promised the day before. Nothing to be bought but teas, and those such as the merchants chose to sell. The supercargo, therefore, under these circumstances, departed without trading."

In 1735, a new attempt was made to trade to Amuy, which failed, owing to the high prices and enormous duties. The same fraudulent practices with weights and measures were repeated, as during the previous year: thus they quitted Amuy for Canton. But in 1744, the ship *Hardwicke*, in order to avoid the Spaniards then off Macao, went to Amuy, and spent much time in fruitless discussions and vain endeavours to get the Chinese to trade, but she was compelled to quit the port and to proceed to Bengal for a cargo.

Anxious to open, if possible, a communication with Japan, and to increase the consump-

tion of British manufactures in China, the Company resolved to open a trade with Ning-po and Chusan.

“ You are carefully to observe,” these were their instructions to the supercargoes, “ the manner of disposing of our European goods and bullion ; and, as much as in you lies, to promote the vent of our English manufactures and other products of this nation. And take notice, that we buy all our woollen cloth and other goods with present money and at the most proper seasons ; by which means, and the great quantities we purchase, we get them at least 10 per cent. cheaper than they are usually bought, and we rate them in the invoice at no more than the true cost. If any other sorts of goods than what is in our list may be found out proper for Europe, or any commodities that have not been here before sent hither, send us musters of some, and small parcels of others.”

In consequence of this resolution, president Catchpole, who was sent out by the East India Company in their frigate Eaton, as president of such factory as he should be able to settle in China, and as his majesty's counsel there, arrived at Chusan on the 11th October 1700, and entered into a treaty for trade, in which, after encountering many evasions and impositions, he succeeded, and established a factory ; but the

Eaton was not able to quit the port with a return cargo, till February 1702, having been detained there sixteen months. Chusan was at that time a desolate island, having greatly suffered by the pirates and wars which laid all China waste. On the 10th January, the president and council were ordered by the government to withdraw from Chusan; but this order was rescinded in consequence of an agreement with the chief mandarin, by which, in consequence of their purchasing his Japan earthenware, he engaged to secure their factory till the arrival of the next ships, and assist them in recovering their debts, which amounted to 31,000 taëls. The president hints at his having expended 10,000 taëls for preserving the factory at Chusan. At the same time, while under the impression that they would be permitted to remain till next season, the council stated that the monopoly and tyranny of the mandarins was so great, that they did not consider it for the interest of the company to remain at Chusan, unless the ambassador to be sent to the Chinese court, should procure better terms. On the 2nd February, the judge arrived, and caused a Mr. Lloyd to be secured in the factory. He wished to force upon them some goods for the liquidation of the debt, and hoped that they would make him some offer for being permitted

to remain. As, however, no one came forth, he ordered them, in the name of the emperor, to depart. Accordingly, they all repaired on board, but in so much hurry and confusion, that they had no time to carry off necessaries, or their own private effects. Amidst this distraction the counsel's doors were forced, and some goods stolen; and the mandarin of justice took possession of the counsel's lodgings, and of the warehouses containing the company's goods: two gentlemen only remained behind. When other ships arrived the next year, the factors found the merchants so dilatory and exorbitant in their demands, that they reshipped their goods, after having paid 10,000 taëls measurement; but they were hindered from re-embarking by a military mandarin, who surrounded the factory with soldiers, and kept them under strict confinement, whilst he forced the merchants to sell their goods at very unreasonable rates. The hoppo also pretended that he had no authority to fulfil the chop he had previously granted, and by which he had extorted the loan of 6,000 taëls. Many great promises were made to them. They found the people so capricious, that woollens and many other European exports were a drug; but the factors had understood that curious birds and dogs were much sought after. Mr. Dolben,

a supercargo, had paid the entire measurage of his ship with one great Irish dog. The Rochester, a vessel which was sent thither, touched on her way at Amuy, and represented the many impositions of the mandarins as the cause why the trade had been discontinued ; on that account they promised to trade with them on any terms they chose to prescribe. On their arrival at Chusan, the exactions of the mandarins were so great, that they had a share of the profits on all purchases made by the supercargoes, even to the vegetables for the factory. In consequence of the burdens imposed on the trade at Canton, an unsuccessful attempt was made in 1737 to open a commercial intercourse with Ning-po. The causes of failure were the heavy duties, and the haughty and arbitrary conduct of the Chinese. Moreover, they had overrated this emporium, and were counteracted by the merchants, who traded from Ning-po to Batavia. The trade, however, was legalized, and the duties reduced to one-half, until an edict arrived, excluding all the English from the trade, 1757. When Mr. Flint, the supercargo, heard that this prohibition had been bought at Peking by the Canton merchants, with a bribe of 20,000 taëls, he sailed for Teën-tsin, on the Pih-ho : here he got a petition sent to the emperor, and was allowed to travel over-

land back to Canton ; but after his arrival at Macao, he was confined by the Chinese government until 1762, when he was banished from the country for having ventured as far as Ning-po.

The trade at Macao was, in the meanwhile, carried on with various success. In 1673, a ship arrived in the roads, with a view to trade. The Portuguese permitted the vessel to be careened, and the goods to be landed, but under restriction to trade only with the Portuguese in the town, and with money only ; hence from not having silver on board, the sales of goods were partial. During the stay of the factors on shore, they were strictly guarded by a sentinel, which prevented the Chinese from visiting them. They therefore reshipped their cargo, and anchored for some time amongst the islands, hoping to trade clandestinely with the junks. Shortly afterwards, an attempt was made to trade with Tuh-choo, but did not succeed. A Dutch factory established in that provincial city, was treacherously dealt with ; and this circumstance prevented the English from being over-anxious to settle themselves in this place.

Whilst some ships were stationed, in 1682, near Macao, the Tatar general intimated to them, that the Portuguese having petitioned him, to expel all strangers from the harbour, he

had finally resolved to fulfil their wishes. Boats were in consequence prevented from coming off to the ships, and they would not even sell any provisions to the Europeans. This measure forced them to anchor at some islands, and to barter some copper with a Siamese junk, which had just arrived from Japan.

Another attempt to trade at Macao was made in 1687. Some Chinese men of war came alongside, to obtain information respecting the object of the ships. After having satisfied them upon this subject, they sent a large present to the Portuguese general at Macao, who, however, told them honestly, that the emperor had given strict orders not to deal with any foreign ship. In conference with the mandarins, they confirmed the assertion of the Portuguese, respecting their having made a compact with the emperor, who, in consideration of a great sum of money, had engaged to suffer no other European nation to have any trade in his dominions. They therefore removed to Lantao, and were followed by the Chinese men of war, which burnt a trading junk close to the ship. They were then deluded with vain hopes and promises, but not able to do any thing as long as they were engaged with the mandarins, who requested the aid of trading junks, in order to drive them away. In a letter to the company, which states

the result of their endeavours, they say: "We have endeavoured to glean a little after others, being forced to take what we could get, and not at liberty to pick and choose goods, as if we had a settlement, or free trade. These private merchants cannot take goods, because it is a clandestine trade, and imports pay ten per cent. at Canton; but we have made great shift to put off thirty pieces of fine cloth, with some other small matters, specified in the account."

The Portuguese, in order to keep the English entirely out of Canton, paid the governor annually 24,000 taëls, the amount of custom that the foreign merchants annually used to pay.

However there were strong reasons for trying, by all means, to secure to the company the Canton trade. A small quantity of tea, amounting to the value of one hundred dollars, had been sent to England some years previous. This found a ready sale, and the directors remark in 1687, that the sale had increased. Besides, it was no longer possible to trade to Amoy, since the Tatars had taken possession of the city. When, in 1685, the trade to all the ports of China had been thrown open, a company's ship found means to go up the river, but the Hoppo was desirous of extorting more money than the measurement of the ship amounted to, and this gave rise to altercation. Besides, they were only

allowed to trade with a few individuals to their own disadvantage. When this ship was about to sail, (1690), the commander went with two boats manned, to demand of the people belonging to a mandarin stationed there, the mast they had hauled up on shore, showing the chop from the hoppo's officer for carrying it away. The mandarin took the chop, and cast it on the ground; upon which the captain rashly laid hold of the mast, and dragged it into the water. A fray commenced accordingly, and blows were exchanged on both sides. However the captain's party proved victorious, and towed the mast on board the pinnace. But the mandarins were so incensed, that they poured whole volleys of stones at the boats, which so enraged the sailors, that they fired with shot in return, whereby one native was killed, and another wounded. In consequence of this loss, the Chinese fired a whole broadside upon the English, who, in order to save themselves, pulled off in all haste, and left ten of their countrymen on shore. Whilst still in sight, their surgeon was cut down in the act of coming off to the boat. They heard next day, that their surgeon lay chained to the corpse of the Chinese who had been killed, and was carried about in the city, in order to irritate the minds of the people. Meanwhile the mandarin's party ranged the

town, breaking up the captain's house, fining the landlady, and threatening to mulct the Portuguese for not firing their guns upon the English. A Mr. Watts was sent on shore to make up the matter, and offered 2000 taëls (about six hundred pounds sterling); but as the mandarins insisted upon 3000, they detained Mr. Watts, and the ships departed without him. In consequence of this affray, the company enjoined their servants in China, to be very careful not to give umbrage to the Chinese. But new difficulties again arose in 1702, because the hoppo wished to compel every merchant, who wanted to trade with the supercargoes, to give in his name, and to pay three per cent. upon the contracts they made. The supercargoes petitioned the hoppo, but without effect, and at length agreed with the merchants, that they should pay the hoppo's demand, viz. 3900 taëls, in proportion to the amount of each contract, upon which the guard stationed at their doors was withdrawn. They agreed, some years afterwards, to pay to the great hoppo 10,000 taëls, on a stone being placed in the custom-house, prohibiting the demand of an extraordinary duty of four per cent., and declaring it contrary to the emperor's orders.

In the year 1712, the supercargoes of the Streatham and Herne, remained at Macao, till

they received written guaranties for fair treatment from the hoppo. They also agreed with a Chinese merchant for the payment of the measurement, presents and fees of both ships for 4500 taëls ; they then went up to Canton, and the ships entered the river. On their arrival they demanded and obtained from the hoppo, the freedom of the port, and liberty to trade with whom they pleased ; to choose their own linguist and servants, and to dismiss them at pleasure ; permission to haul their ships on shore, and to buy stores ; exemption from all new customs and impositions ; and the sole right of punishing their people, if disorderly. At the same time he recommended Leanqua and Anqua, with whom they were eventually compelled to deal ; merchants, who it was ascertained, traded with the money of the mandarins. When the other mandarins saw what great profits accrued to the hoppo, they became envious, and charged the merchants with new exactions, and also oppressed the Chinese with whom the English had contracted. When, in 1719, the hoppo's term of office was nearly expired, he insisted upon the supercargoes landing all their cargo and paying duties. This they opposed, but finally consented to it, on the hoppo's abating 36 per cent. To shackle the trade still more, a company of merchants was formed by

the Chinese authorities, who prohibited all inferior merchants to deal with Europeans, and moreover, obliged those who did so, to pay 20 per cent. on Chinaware, and 40 per cent. on tea sold by them. As the hoppo and te-tuh were connected with this Chinese company, the remonstrances of the merchants proved of little avail, until, upon an application to the tsung-tuh, (governor)—this company was dissolved. The hoppo then granted the usual licence for trade to the ships, which at first refused to enter the port, afraid of the great exactions, which were to be expected under a trade with a company. One of the officers of the hoppo, was accidentally killed by the people belonging to a private Madras ship. This occasioned much trouble, and put a stop to business. The second mate, and four inferior officers of the Cadogan, were seized and beaten by a mandarin, by order of the te-tuh, and the factory was surrounded with soldiers, without any cause being assigned. The supercargoes complained to the tsung-tuh of this insult and violation of their privileges, and the mandarin was in consequence deprived of his office. The supercargoes remarked, that it was absolutely necessary to carry this point, as their privileges were encroached upon annually, and the trade rendered more and more difficult, 1722. In the same

year, a gunner's mate of a private ship, accidentally killed a boy. This again occasioned much trouble, and the English had to pay 2000 taëls, 350 of which were given to the boy's parents, and the remainder to the mandarins. On the following year new difficulties arose. The great mandarins at Canton, forced the Chinese merchants to trade with the English with their own money, upon an exorbitant interest. Moreover, they purchased the tea in the country, and sold it at their own prices. Almost all the merchants were in consequence ruined, and not more than two or three capable of taking a contract. However, the hoppo granted them every thing they demanded, and the order of the foo-yuen, for sending the ships in order to find out whether there were any arms or ammunition on board was rescinded. In consequence of the extortions of the mandarins, many merchants left Canton, and went to Amoy, whither they invited the English ships, adding, that the mandarins of that port were very anxious for their return. They therefore resolved to repair to Amoy, but the lieutenant-governor, (or foo-yuen), persuaded them to stop. Instead, however, of removing the difficulties, and facilitating the trade, a duty of 20 per cent. was levied upon the native merchants, besides the customary 6 per cent., and the emperor's duties paid by the

English merchants. Not satisfied with these heavy exactions, the government officers, the viceroy,* as well as the hoppo, demanded presents from the merchants.

In 1734, some differences again occurred with the merchants, who did not furnish the silks equal to the contract they had entered into, nor would they make an abatement in the price. The supercargoes for two days, made unavailing efforts to bring the matter before the viceroy, being impeded in their attempts to procure an audience by the soldiers, as well as the merchants. At last a grand mandarin was sent to them to hear their complaints, of whom they demanded a licence for unmolested entrance into the city, and thereby free recourse to justice; but this was absolutely refused, and they were told, that the emperor had ordered no stranger should obtain that liberty. The matter was finally settled, and the viceroy told them never to trouble him any more with such trifles. The court at home was advised of these circumstances, that they might know the situation of their servants, when applying to the public courts of judicature of this country, for redress of abuses in their trade. In 1736, an exception of 10 per cent. duty upon the goods, was finally

* Tsung-tuh, or governor, and viceroy are used indiscriminately for the same officer.

published by Keën-lung, but the tsung-tuh demanded, that the sum of 30,000 taëls should be paid to him, for having obtained this abatement. Upon attending to hear the edict read in the tsung-tuh's hall of audience, the English were ordered to kneel, but unanimously and successfully resisted the order. The English, by two addresses presented through the tsung-tuh, thanked the emperor for his favour, and solicited the removal of other burthens on their trade ; but measurage and presents were ordered still to be paid. This duty of 10 per cent., as it was afterwards found out, was levied upon European trade by the emperor's servants, who represented it to him as a voluntary contribution. Six thousand taëls were at the same time advanced on bond to a merchant, to obtain the release of demands for arms, and a letter written to the supercargoes' successors to advise them to try the force of money in removing burthensome exactions.

Few events occurred until the arrival of Commodore Anson. A Chinese having attempted to force himself into the English factory, was wounded by the sentinel. The supercargoes were happy to compromise the affair, by paying a heavy doctor's bill. With the arrival of a new foo-yuen, new difficulties arose, and were only partly removed. Dutch, English and French,

who then traded to Canton, agreed to jointly petition the viceroy.

Commodore Anson arrived in 1742, in China. His ship was in a bad condition, and he, therefore, requested leave to proceed up the river. A Chinese officer came accordingly on board, who desired the commodore to spare the ceremony of saluting him, because his guns being large, the noise would disturb him exceedingly. He assured him, that the viceroy would accept very kindly a visit from him ; and the captain of the other ship presented him with a licence for daily supply of provisions, but intimated at the same time, that the ship would have to pay the customary duties of measurement. The commodore replied, that the British ships of war were never treated on a level with trading vessels in any port, and that he was absolutely restrained by his instructions from paying any acknowledgment for leave of anchoring in any harbour whatever. He accordingly proceeded up the river, and anchored opposite a custom-house. Notwithstanding all his requests, no provisions were allowed to him ; he therefore insisted, in company with the English, Dutch, Danish, and Swedish supercargoes, on obtaining an audience of the viceroy. On their arrival at the viceroy's palace, they found 10,000 men under arms, the commodore and his companions

were immediately conducted into the great hall, and admitted to the presence of the viceroy, who appeared with great pomp. His excellency behaved very politely, and gave the commodore a great entertainment and several presents, but would receive nothing in return. All difficulties were, after this conference, removed, and the commodore was able to get his stores, and to return home. It is said, that on this occasion, a dreadful fire broke out at Canton, and consumed many houses. The sailors lent effectual assistance on that occasion. But the Chinese authorities demanded duties on the articles, which had been consumed by fire, and as this was refused, the ships were detained. Frivolous occurrences often gave rise to a good deal of altercation. An officer on coming on shore, had refused to have his desk examined by the Chinese custom-house officers. The linguist was immediately put in chains, and the tsung-tuh demanded, that the officer should be delivered up, and receive such punishment as he thought fit to inflict. This proposition being rejected, trade was stopt in consequence. An audience with his excellency was solicited, and granted, but afterwards refused, for the tsung-tuh was too busy to hear them. This improper conduct was attributed to the Chinese merchants, by whose interference the trade was put upon such

a footing, that without redress, it would be impracticable to Europeans. In 1747, the number of Europeans ships at Whampoa, is reported to have been eight English, six Dutch, four Swedish, two Danish; total, twenty ships. In another year (1750), the iron kintledge of the ships was made a pretence for withholding the licences.

Mr. Flint, a gentleman who had with great perseverance studied the Chinese language, addressed a paper in Chinese to the hoppo, on the subject of grievances. Among which, is that of affixing proclamations in the public streets, accusing the English of horrible crimes, to which they impute the insults they receive from the people, and that money is exacted by the Chinese officers, and insults are offered. The hoppo ordered the writer to be arrested, and answered, he knew best what was fit for the English. "We are confirmed in our opinion," the supercargoes say, "that representation here can have no effect, the magistrates are so ignorant and their servants so corrupt."

An attempt was made in 1754, to get rid of the custom of finding security merchants, for these men were compelled to send in curiosities to Peking to the amount of 30,000 taëls, and had to bear the charges of it. The English being the only nation, who maintained their flag

in the river, the accidental discharge of a musket occasioned a demand for some men to be given up ; but as violence was apprehended, it was not complied with. An attempt was made by the other nations to trade with outside merchants and shopkeepers, but this proved ineffectual, for to the Hong merchants, the monopoly of the foreign trade had been granted ; and the Chinese government refused to depart from a law, the execution of which filled their coffers. But fearful that all the grievances might reach the ears of the emperor, they were anxious to prevent Englishmen from learning the Chinese language, and described the officers and sailors of their ships as brutes.

Other great difficulties frequently arose, from the nature of the cargoes which were sent from England. The company was very anxious to export as many British manufactures, and especially woollens, as were saleable. Yet the consumption in China was comparatively small, and many of the goods found no purchasers.

It was impossible to prevent the affrays which occasionally took place ; and in one instance the Chinese interfered, and strangled a French sailor who had killed a Portuguese. On the whole, the trade had considerably improved, notwithstanding the great obstacles ; for the consumption of tea increased at home. Some

very unjust acts occurred also occasionally. A Captain M'Leary had seized upon a Dutch ship, in 1781, to indemnify himself for the loss he had sustained in a Spanish ship which he had captured, and for which he had to pay a heavy fine of 70,000 dollars to the magistrate at Macao, after having suffered imprisonment for some time. But when he was willing to divide the spoil with the Chinese authorities, the matter was again dropped, and things went on as before.

Besides the heavy exactions, which were constantly renewed, a serious affair occurred, on account of the firing of a salute, whereby a Chinese was killed, in 1784. The supercargo of this ship was decoyed into the power of the Chinese, and marched into the city of Canton under a very strong military guard. The avenues leading to the quay were all barricadoed, and filled with soldiers. The linguists and merchants fled, the honges were deserted, and the communications between Canton and Whampoa suspended by order of the hoppo. The surrender of the gunner, who was strangled, eventually procured the liberation of the supercargo.

The number of foreign ships at Whampoa in 1782, is stated, by Meares, as follows:—

English Company's	21
Ditto East India ditto . . .	40
American	15
Dutch	5
Danish	1
French	1

Total 83

An application which was made to two super-cargoes of the company, to proceed to Peking, in order to congratulate Keën-lung on entering his eightieth year, was not complied with. However, many circumstances occurred which rendered an English embassy to the court of Peking very desirable. Other nations had sent their representatives thither, and the English, who now traded very largely, had never attempted in this way to redress their grievances. Their character was traduced, they were treated contumeliously, and had never had any person to advocate their cause at the Chinese court. It was even very desirable that an English resident should constantly reside at Peking. The dependent states of both countries bordered upon one another ; it would be very satisfactory to keep up a constant communication with the court, in order to prevent the possibility of animosity between the two nations.

Accordingly the British government resolved

to send an embassy to Peking. The individuals composing this embassy were chosen by the secretary of state. Lord Macartney, an able statesman, and Sir George Staunton, were chosen to transact the affairs of the British at the celestial supreme government. An excellent assortment of presents, and a friendly letter from the British government, accompanied this mission, which sailed from Portsmouth in 1792, and arrived in July 1793 at the Pih-ho. The mandarins, perceiving that the vessels could not cross the bar, thought that they must be very heavily laden with presents intended for his imperial majesty. Provisions were supplied plentifully, and the ambassador treated with the greatest respect. Two mandarins of the highest rank came to congratulate them upon their arrival, and behaved with such civility that they prepossessed the ambassador very much in favour of the Chinese. Whilst himself and his retinue embarked for Peking, the ships received orders to proceed to Japan, there to endeavour to establish a free trade. Amidst an immense crowd of people, they passed up the river till they arrived at Tung-choo-foo. To their great astonishment, the English were accused of having supported the Tibet rebels; this circumstance made an unfavourable impression, though the ambassador endeavoured

to contradict it as a palpable untruth. Though this may be said to have been a splendid embassy, they were nevertheless degraded by having written upon the flags, tribute-bearers. When arrived at Peking, where lodgings were assigned them between Hae-teën and Yuen-ming-yuen, they were required to perform their prostrations at the audience. This was entirely against their inclination and orders. But to remove this difficulty, the ambassadors proposed that a high officer of state should perform the same ceremonies of homage before the picture of his British majesty which he was required to do. However, the legate who had charge of the embassy showed himself an enemy to Europeans, and endeavoured to thwart all their objects. As the emperor was at Jêho (Zhe-hol), in Tatory, they were obliged to repair thither. They passed the great wall, and arrived at the place of their destination, a place composed of miserable hovels, beside the dwellings of the mandarins. The subject of the requisite prostrations was again taken up with all due warmth; but the emperor was condescending enough to yield to the request of Lord Macartney, who promised to perform the same genuflexion as he did in an audience to his own sovereign.

On the day of audience, the ambassadors were

ushered into the gardens of Jě-ho. Tents had here been pitched, the imperial one had nothing magnificent, but was distinguished from all the others by its yellow colour. The imperial family, as well as mandarins of the first rank, had all collected. Shortly after day-light the sound of musical instruments announced the approach of the emperor. He was seated in an open chair, borne by sixteen men, and seen emerging from a grove in the back-ground. Clad in plain dark silk, with a velvet bonnet and a pearl in front of it, he wore no other distinguishing mark of his high rank. As soon as the monarch was seated upon his throne, the master of the ceremonies led the ambassador towards the steps. The latter approached, bent his knee, and handed in a casket set with diamonds, the letter addressed to his imperial majesty by the king of England. The emperor assured him of the satisfaction he felt at the testimony which his Britannic Majesty gave him of his esteem and good will in sending him an embassy, with a letter and rare presents; that he on his part entertained sentiments of the same kind towards the sovereign of Great Britain, and hoped that harmony would always be maintained between their respective subjects. He then presented to the ambassador a stone sceptre, whilst he graciously received the private presents of the principal personages of

the embassy. He was perfectly good humored, and especially pleased with the son of Sir G. Staunton, who talked a little Chinese, and received as a token of imperial favour, a yellow plain tobacco pouch, with the figure of the five clawed dragon embroidered upon it. Afterwards the ambassadors from Birmah and little Bukharia, were introduced and performed the nine prostrations. A sumptuous banquet was then served up, and after their departure, they had presents sent to them consisting of silks, porcelain, and teas. Upon an application made to the prime minister, respecting a merchant ship which had accompanied the ambassador's frigate, they received the most flattering answer, and every request was fully granted them. Having accompanied the embassy, the ship was to pay no duty. After their return to Peking, it was intimated to them, that his majesty on his way to Yuen-ming-yuen, would be delighted if the ambassador came to meet him on the road. When the emperor observed him, he stopped short, and graciously addressed him. He was carried in a chair, and followed by a clumsy cart, which could not be distinguished from other vehicles, if it had not been for the yellow cloth over it. On his arrival at Yuen-ming-yuen, he viewed with great delight the various presents which the ambassador had

brought with him. A model of the "Royal Sovereign," a ship of war of a hundred and ten guns, attracted much of his notice.

In consequence of this embassy, his imperial majesty called together a council to deliberate what answer ought to be given to the letter. A hoppo from Canton, who had lost his rank, and the imperial legate, strongly opposed any offer of friendly terms. The result of this conference was, that the ambassador was given to understand, that as the winter approached, he ought to think about his departure. At an interview with the minister of state, to which he was invited in the palace, he found the emperor's answer contained in a large roll covered with yellow silk, and placed in a chair of state. From thence it was sent into the ambassador's hotel accompanied by several presents. News which arrived from Canton, stating the probability of a rupture between England and the French republic, hastened the departure of the ambassador. He had been very anxious to obtain some privileges for the British trade, but the prime minister was as anxious to evade all conversation upon business. The splendid embassy was only viewed as a congratulatory mission, and treated as such.

The Chinese were certainly not wanting in politeness, nor did the emperor even treat them

rudely ; but empty compliments were not the object of this expensive expedition. The new legate, Sung-ta-jin, a man of the highest rank, was very friendly and inquisitive, which enabled Lord Macartney to state to him the most essential things in regard to the British nation, which without doubt were communicated to the emperor. It was principally owing to this man that many of the prejudices, hitherto entertained by the emperor, were removed. In an imperial letter, it was stated that his majesty himself entertained a high esteem for the ambassador and his nation, notwithstanding the various surmises that had been made about them ; and that he was determined to protect their trade, about which his excellency appeared to interest himself so warmly. That he had, indeed, declined complying with particular requests ; not so much, perhaps, that they were in themselves improper, as that they were introductive of something new, which, at his advanced period of life, he did not think it prudent to adopt—at least, on a sudden. That, as to the detail of matters in that distant province, it was left, for the most part, to the discretion and recommendation of the viceroy, who, being officially consulted on the answer, would not readily dictate an abolition of the practices he had permitted ; but, as a particular mark of his

majesty's attention to the wishes of the English on this head, he had made a change in the government of that province; and nominated to it a person of his own blood, who was endowed with uncommon sentiments of justice and benignity towards strangers. That he had written in the strongest terms to this new viceroy, who had not yet quitted his late government of Che-keang, in which Chusan is situated to revise and examine the regulations of the port of Canton, and to put an effectual stop to the vexations of which the English complained. At Hang-choo, the capital of Che-keang, the embassy separated; for a great part of the gentlemen went on board the Indiaman at Chusan, and the Lion man-of-war had already sailed for Canton. The former ascertained that both teas and silks might be bought at Chusan much cheaper than any where else. They had received permission to trade without duties; but as the merchants wanted specie for their cargo, the commander chose rather to return to Canton, in order to load there. The other party went in company with the new viceroy, who was coming down from Hang-choo in order to enter upon his new office. On their arrival at Canton, they were very amicably received; the new viceroy showed them all attention; and expressed the desire of the emperor that, whenever it suited

the convenience of his Britannic Majesty, another ambassador might be sent to the court of Peking. Thus, after many kind assurances of friendship and goodwill towards the British nation, they left Macao.

After the departure of the British ambassador, all the affairs were carried on in a friendly way; but as the importation of opium increased to an alarming extent, the government issued severe prohibitions, and denounced penalties on the contravention of these orders. The supercargoes, in consequence, recommended to the Court of Directors to endeavour to prevent the shipment of the article for China, either in Bengal or in England. By permitting the sailors to go on shore, great irregularities frequently ensued. In 1800, a Chinese was wounded by a sailor belonging to a British man-of-war. The supercargoes left no means unemployed to compromise the affair, as well as to exonerate themselves from responsibility for the acts of persons not under their orders; but, although the viceroy had a strong partiality for the English, the supercargoes were of opinion the matter could not have passed over so easily had the Chinese died. In that event, and the refusal of the commander to abide by the law of the country, a stoppage of trade would probably have ensued; and it is difficult to say where the resentment of govern-

ment would have ended. The supercargoes therefore recommended, that orders should be given to his majesty's commanders, especially when within the Bogue, on no account whatever to fire at a Chinese; or that they should be furnished with letters and presents from his majesty to the emperor, by which additional privileges might be obtained. The following year, an accusation of smuggling a few camlets was brought against them. One of the Chinese merchants was in consequence amerced, by a sentence of the emperor, to pay the sum of 50,000 taëls. The Hong merchant, therefore, insisted upon the English supercargoes indemnifying him for his loss; but this was refused; and a severe edict against all sort of smuggling promulgated by the Court of Directors at home.

As the French war, under the vigorous administration of Napoleon Bonaparte, began to extend, the English thought it very prudent to send an armament to Macao, in order to take possession of that place so long as the war should last. Though the Portuguese governor was willing to surrender, the Chinese authorities would by no means permit the English to establish their authority on this peninsula; and therefore the whole force returned. This is, perhaps, the only instance on record of laws being dictated to the first maritime power in the world by a

feeble government, and implicitly obeyed. The imbecile Chinese even went so far as to order some men-of-war away from Anson's Bay ; and this order, which was couched in very strong terms, was complied with. Emboldened by their success, a few threats and strong language were, in their opinion, quite sufficient to chase away the barbarian ships. Their last and sure resource was the stopping of the trade. This was sure to bring the stubborn barbarians to reason. Under such an impression, they treated the British merchants very haughtily ; and proceeded still further in their insolence towards them ; whilst, on the other side, the utmost caution could not exempt the English from offending the sanctity of the laws of the celestial empire. A mistaken notion, that so weak a government as the Chinese was able to stop the trade ;—a notion, long cherished, that the great superiority of the British navy was not adequate to over-awe the celestial empire ;—was the reason that so many measures, detrimental both to national honour and to the trade, were adopted. These remarks were strongly exemplified in 1808. A British squadron, under Admiral Drury, had arrived to take possession of Macao. A stoppage of the trade immediately took place, upon his having garrisoned the place ; and the Chinese authorities refused to acknowledge the

authority of the admiral. We do not dwell upon the abstract right the English had of occupying Macao, until the danger of its falling into the hands of the French should be passed ; but they surely had a right to cause their flag and admiral to be respected by a wretched government, whose whole strength consists in the art of boasting. In their official communication, by means of the Hong merchants, they say : “ Knowing, as you ought to know, that the Portuguese inhabit a territory belonging to the celestial empire, how could you suppose that the French would ever venture to molest them. (Napoleon would have taught them that this was a vain presumption.) If they dared, our warlike tribes would attack, defeat, and chase them from the face of the country. Conscious of this truth, why did you bring your soldiers here? Repent, and withdraw immediately ; the permission to trade shall then be restored ; but should you persist in remaining, the hatches of your ships shall not be unlocked.” The latter part of the threat would have been immediately reversed, by the mere appearance of a British ship of war in the Canton river, or at Canton itself. Instead of this, the way of negotiation was adopted. The Chinese accordingly refused to listen to any argument, until the troops were withdrawn from Macao. Thereupon, admiral Drury came up to

Canton, and insisted upon an interview with the viceroy. The viceroy refused him the interview, though he sent an intimation that he would be up, within half an hour, in the city. The viceroy declined this honour, and the admiral returned to his ship. He afterwards ordered the boats of his own and of the company's ships to be manned and armed, in order to break through the line of Chinese vessels which were moored across the river. Had he persevered in this endeavour, the trade would both have been opened, and the matter adjusted at Macao. Anxious to hold a conversation with the Chinese admiral, Drury pulled a-head, and was fired upon, whereby one sailor was wounded. He then made the signal for the attack; but this was not observed. He did not repeat it a second time, but retreated with the boats. If it had not been considered right to force an amicable understanding, this expedition ought not to have been undertaken; but, once entered upon, it ought to have been carried through.

Though the British chief of the factory highly approved of the moderation of the admiral, the British national honour was stained for ever; and a pyramid, recording the *victory* of Chinese cowardice over British imprudence, is erected near the spot from whence the admiral retreated. He withdrew with his garrison from

Macao; the English nation was viewed with greater contempt; it was written down in the Chinese annals, "We have beaten the English!" The undaunted veterans of the Nile and Trafalgar had retreated.

The consequence of these cautionary proceedings were greater obstacles in the way of trading. A ship was ordered to remain outside the river, till the imperial pleasure could be known, whether she might proceed up to Whampoa, or not. Previous to this expedition a serious affray had occurred at Canton. In a street close to the factories, where the sailors are usually enticed to purchase liquor, after being mixed up with narcotics, and where they are plundered of all they possess as soon as they are intoxicated, the crew of one vessel began a quarrel with the Chinese; upon the interference of the officers, they were all brought back to the factory; but a large mob collected in front, and threw stones at every European who passed, notwithstanding the remonstrances made to the mandarins and Hong merchants. The sailors were so incensed by this conduct, that they twice eluded the vigilance of their officers, and easily dispersed the whole mob. It was afterwards reported that a Chinese had died in consequence of the wounds received during the affray: the government in-

sisted upon having a man delivered up to atone for the death of their countryman ; but this was refused, as it was actually impossible that amongst such a crowd the murderer could be discovered : however, to satisfy the demands of the great rulers, a sailor was detained till the imperial pleasure should be known ; the trade was again opened, and things went on in their customary train.

Great impediment had been thrown in the way by two houses becoming bankrupt ; but the Chinese authorities, anxious to recover their credit, removed all complaints by making up, in some way or other, the deficiencies. In 1810, at the moment when the ships had completed their lading, the select committee at Canton was informed that the Chinese government would not permit the departure of the ships, until it was discovered by whom a Chinese had been killed. A charge of this nature had been made some time before, but so entirely unsupported by proof,—indeed in direct contradiction to the testimony of a shopkeeper, in whose neighbourhood the murder was said to have been committed by a British seaman,—that it was thought the Chinese authorities would not persist in so unreasonable a request : however, the ships were detained on that account a considerable time, and the committee was greatly

annoyed by the evasive proceedings both of the viceroy and hoppo. The difficulty was finally settled, by their promising that inquiries about the culprit should be made in England. This man was next year claimed again ; no person could point him out ; it was only known that his name was William, but to what ship or nation he belonged was entirely unknown. Though they were chosen by the viceroy to be acquainted with his orders about the renewal of the trade, and had stated to him the heavy burdens under which it groaned, it was finally found out how vain it is to expect redress from the mandarins, as not the least notice had been taken of their complaint. Confiding in the wisdom and favour of his imperial majesty, the supercargoes nevertheless hoped that their difficulties might be finally removed. An edict was, in consequence of this address, issued by the hoppo. In this, he unblushingly denied the most notorious facts of injustice, professed indifference and contempt for their representations, and repressed their stirring and obstinate spirit ; but nevertheless the supercargoes flattered themselves that their address might prove some check to the ruinous and oppressive system of extortion to which the Hong merchants are subjected.

The ships were also detained without any rea-

son being assigned. On remonstrating with the Hong merchants against this unwarrantable and vexatious treatment, "They were unanimous in acknowledging, that the detention of the ships was a measure of government, not directed against the English, but against themselves, in consequence of the absolute inability of most of them, and the actual refusal of all, to satisfy the extortionate and continually increasing demands of the hoppo, for the purchase of various articles of clockwork and mechanism imported in the English ships, which it seems are now become the established vehicle of corruption between that officer and his superiors at the capital." By some compromise between the merchants and the hoppo, the matter was again adjusted, and the trade carried on as before. Yet new difficulties again arose. Remonstrances having been made, were rejected with disdain, and the supercargoes had no other means, than by presenting a petition to the hoppo in his own palace in the city. When the ships, however, were again detained upon slight and unreasonable pretences, the supercargoes simply stated, that their ships should sail without permission, if this was longer withheld; and this threat had the desired effect. In all these debates, which often occasioned loss of time and property, the directors at home were of different

opinion from their servants on the spot. The former inculcated entire compliance with the Chinese regulations, which would have brought utter ruin on the trade; the latter often resisted exactions, and at other times wavered in their measures. The arrival of a new hoppo, who is generally a minion of the imperial palace, created new difficulties. He was impressed with a belief, that the more violent and arbitrary he was towards Europeans and the merchants, the better was his chance of profiting by extortion.

In 1813 and 1814, several very offensive measures were adopted by the viceroy of Canton towards the company's supercargoes: not only was an edict issued, according to which, all native attendants were to be withdrawn, and all Chinese prohibited to communicate with them; but the company's linguist, who had been employed to carry the picture of the Prince Regent to Peking, was seized, and their written representations were returned unopened. At the same time, a very offensive edict was published, which said: "Foreigners are not permitted, voluntarily, to present statements to government; they are indebted to the clemency of the emperor for their trade, as also for the permission to tread the ground, and to eat the herbs in common with the Chinese. If, after the pub-

lication of this edict it occurs, that foreigners presume of their own accord to make applications to government, the viceroy will, on discovery, request his majesty's permission to punish them severely."

Those members of the British factory, who were determined to assert their rights, became particularly obnoxious to government. Such was the case with Mr. Roberts, the chief, and Sir George Staunton, the young gentleman who had accompanied the embassy, and who understood the Chinese language. The supercargoes observe in their letter to the Directors of 23d February, 1815, that "It will be seen that the extensive trade, sufficient to excite the views and designs of interested persons, is wholly unprotected by any laws or regulations. From the systematic corruption and venality of the officers of government, those who should be the protectors of the trade are found to be leagued against it. It will be seen that little or no assistance is to be derived from the other hong merchants, who scarcely can be depended on even for communicating what occurs. The committee have therefore only to rely upon their judgment to decide on, and their firmness to persevere in the measures they may adopt to prevent the injury that the trade is threatened with ; as their representations and remonstrances

are either rejected or not attended to, there remains no alternative to obtain a hearing or redress, but to suspend the trade they are appointed to carry on.

“ It may be further noticed, that the Chinese officers of government, habituated to deceit and misrepresentation, assume a plausible and specious mode of reasoning, that is calculated to mislead those, who have to judge at a distance. There appears to be no mode so likely to prevent these injurious consequences, as that of establishing a direct and frequent communication between the two governments. Missions on a far more moderate scale than the former embassy, may prove fully as efficacious. No particular act or appearance of favour or concession need be expected from the Chinese government.

“ The beneficial effect will be in placing the British nation on a more respectable footing with respect to China, and their frequent communications, independent of the superior advantages an embassy will now possess of English interpreters, will show to the provincial authorities, that remonstrances can be conveyed to Peking.”

It is very well known that the emperor Kea-king entertained a bitter hatred of Europeans. Every report sent up from Canton, though containing the grossest falsehoods, found his ready

belief. All obnoxious measures proposed were readily adopted. Whilst the English were engaged in a war with America, a ship had been taken by a British man-of-war in the Canton harbour; this gave rise to more grievous complaints. Besides, some of the elder hong-merchants were anxious to draw the cord of restrictions still closer, and to get the management of the whole trade entirely in their hands. Persons who have never resided in China think such complaints as were brought forth by the supercargoes very trivial; but whoever is in the least degree acquainted with the vexatious spirit of the Chinese government, will feel himself forced to guard against the first encroachments.

The embassy above recommended arrived in China in the month of July 1816. Lord Amherst, the ambassador, had two commissioners under him; the embassy was very well provided with interpreters, and every precaution had been taken to render it successful. Redress of grievances so severely felt at Canton was the grand object of this mission; it was believed that the complaints of Europeans never reached the imperial ear, and therefore no redress could be expected, unless the complaints were directly uttered before the throne. But if Kea-king's character had been better

known at that time, no one would have thought of irritating heaven's son with such paltry affairs. It was also hoped, that by means of an ambassador from his Britannic majesty, a free communication between the court of Peking and the supercargoes at Canton might be opened, or an English resident be allowed to reside at the capital. Besides, it was very desirable for the sale of British piece-goods, that all the ports on the north-east coast of China should be accessible to British enterprise. These were the principal objects of this mission. Their arrival had been reported to the Canton government, and the fleet containing the embassy, which consisted of seventy-five persons, left Hong-kong for Teën-tsin. On their arrival at the Pih-ho, they were received by three commissioners, sent on purpose to Ta-koo. The writer has often spoken with natives at Teën-tsin about the impression this embassy made at its first appearance. There was only one voice upon this subject. Five armed vessels could not have been sent for the mere purpose of bearing tribute. If the English had not come to conquer, and to drive from the throne a weak prince, they would not have brought so many men-of-war. But if they were anxious to conclude a commercial treaty, they brought these vessels in order to give weight to

their demands, and to take the only reasonable way of gaining advantages—*compulsion*. Such a mode of reasoning may appear very strange to European diplomatists, but the natives, who know their own government better, are very well persuaded by sure experience, that the great emperor, notwithstanding his boundless compassion, grants no privileges, unless they be taken.

The ships were in the meanwhile either sent back to Canton directly, or proceeded by way of Korea and the Loo-choo islands, whilst the embassy embarked in the imperial boats, with flying colours, and the inscription upon them, *Tribute-bearers*. That these colours were not immediately lowered was a very great mistake, and marred the affairs considerably. When arrived at Teën-tsin, they were requested to perform the ceremony of nine times bowing to the earth, in order to thank heaven's son for the banquet prepared for them. Even waving the question, whether those who perform the kow-tow acknowledge themselves, and those they represent, vassals of China, which is generally acknowledged, this ceremony of nine prostrations is only performed in honour of the azure heavens and mother earth at the great sacrifices. Minor deities receive only six, or even not so many, so that every body who bows

nine times views the emperor as a constitutional deity of the first rank.

The ambassador accordingly refused to comply with this usage, and from this moment incessant altercations commenced. Another reason for the ungracious reception, and the ungentlemanlike treatment of the representative of his Britannic majesty, was the fear that the ships, which soon after the disembarkation of the embassy departed, would make a descent upon the coast; frequent inquiries about their destination were therefore daily instituted. Three presidents of three different boards were sent to the ambassador on his way to Peking, in order to confer with him about the performance of the kow-tow. It had been plainly hinted to him, that non-compliance with this established rite might be the reason of his not being admitted to the imperial audience. All propositions of substituting another ceremony, or having the same performed before the picture of the Prince Regent by a Chinese grandee, proved in vain. After much debate, the embassy went round the walls of Peking to Yuen-ming-yuen, where the emperor held his court. Having alighted here from their carts, the ambassador was shown into a dirty room crowded with people. They had scarcely sat down, when the duke (Ho), who had lately been entrusted with

the charge of the embassy, entered the room, and stated his wish of introducing the ambassador to his majesty, adding, "Have you the letter?" The ambassador, without rising, said that he felt unwell, and begged his imperial majesty would graciously dispense with requiring him to attend that day. The duke replied, "You shall use your own ceremony." The ambassador, in return, requested the duke to supplicate his majesty to dispense for that day with the audience. But all these remonstrances were vain; the duke took the ambassador unceremoniously by the arm to urge him away, and told an attendant to assist him in this friendly office. Lord Amherst shook him off, and again urged his request. At this moment a messenger arrived, who called the noble duke away in an angry tone; and one of the commissioners, Chang, struck his thigh, and exclaimed: "Ah, now they are angry; a man who comes here should have no will of his own."

A crowd of staring spectators, some of imperial blood, now entered the room, and finally the duke came back to announce, that his majesty had been graciously pleased to order his physician to attend upon the ambassador. He was now ushered to his rooms; men with drawn swords cleared the way, and his grace, the duke, did not scruple to cuff the crowd of mandarins

who stood in the way. The ambassador went into his carriage, whilst the duke took a final glance at it, got into his chair, and was no more seen. Within two hours the news were brought that the ambassador, with his train, were required to halt immediately. Shortly afterwards Kew-mun-te-tuh, the general of the nine gates of Peking, the first field-marshal of the empire, entered the court, and said, "My master, who commands a million of men, requires that the ambassador leave the limits of my command immediately. The ambassador is a rude man, who does not know how to behave himself; your king is respectful and obedient, but the ambassador is not; he has used disrespectful language; his majesty will write to the king to complain of him." He was interrupted, and told that the ambassador did not use disrespectful language, that he had said nothing more than begged that his majesty would graciously defer the audience. "The ceremonies of the celestial empire," replied the field-martial, "are unalterably binding." It was replied, "that it was now no time to talk about ceremonies." "Well," rejoined he, "I am not sent to talk about that, but to require your departure." "Very well," was the answer, "we shall go." They therefore began their retreat from the capital of the world; on the evening of the same day the two imperial

commissioners were sent to Lord Amherst. They delivered a sceptre (joo-e) of corundum stone, a string of court beads, such as were worn by the emperor and the ladies of the palace, and some ornamental purses. These were intended as a present to the Prince Regent, whilst he requested in return, the maps, the prints and portraits of the King and Queen, which were mentioned in the list of presents.

Without being able to assign a reason for this speedy dismissal, we may be assured, that no court in Asia is so full of intrigue and chicane, as the Chinese. It was evidently the wish of disgracing the representative of so powerful a nation as the English, in the eyes of the Chinese grandees, and the people. It appears to us, that the business was purposely managed thus; but to give a fair turn to the matter, the emperor issued an edict, wherein he expressed his regret for having so suddenly dismissed the ambassador from his presence, and degrades all those who were culpable, for not having duly represented to him, the impracticability of the audience taking place immediately. If we were not acquainted with the utter want of truth, in all their diplomatic affairs, we should consider this confession sincere, but we know enough of Chinese skill to cloak a bad action in fine words. All officers were commanded to treat the em-

bassy, on their way over land to Canton, with the greatest civility. The military, whenever the English passed, put on an imposing appearance, had their arms and accoutrements well cleaned, in order to soothe and to awe the English at the same time. Thus well provided, they returned in measured stages to Canton.

The *Alceste* and *Lyra* had in the mean while returned from Korea and Loo-choo, and the ships had been considerably damaged. On their arrival near the grand Lama, in their way to Canton, a number of Chinese men-of-war anchored around them, and a mandarin came on board, promising that a pass should be given to the ships, to enable them to proceed to Canton. They then entered Lintin, an island some miles distant from the entrance of the Canton river, and dispatched the *Lyra* to the *Typha*, near Macao. Here they were very soon taught, that the feelings of the Chinese government towards them as unsuccessful tribute-bearers, were decidedly hostile. When they were about to take in water at the island, the people dammed up the streamlet, and it was not until sentries were placed along the stream, to keep it clear, that they were enabled to fill their casks. The Chinese who had to supply them with provisions, was compelled to come by stealth during the night, and bring them off. The *Hewitt*, a ship

which had come out with the embassy, was prohibited from loading her cargo, because it was alleged that she had to carry back the unaccepted tribute, and she was in consequence guarded by war-boats. A mandarin was sent on board the *Alceste*, to tell the commander that the officer, who promised them a pass for proceeding up the Canton river had been making fools of them. The embassy, after having been rejected, was, after their arrival, immediately to embark, and to quit the port with all the English ships in the harbour. The captain stated his reasons for proceeding up the river, and threatened the bearer of this insolent message to throw him overboard, if he repeated his rude mandate. If, however, the pass was not sent down within a certain time, the commander would think himself justified in proceeding without it.

The time elapsed, and the frigate got under weigh. As soon as she came in sight of the *Bocca tigris*, (the mouth of the river)—the same linguist who had translated the above message, came on board, and ordered the commander in a haughty tone, to cast anchor immediately ; otherwise, the batteries of the forts at the entrance would sink the ship. The captain retorted this insult, and proceeded. When he was in the entrance the Chinese batteries opened upon

them ; but the fire was so well returned, that within a few minutes the whole garrison of one fort had taken to their heels. It was afterwards stated, that several Chinese soldiers had been killed and wounded ; but the Chinese supreme government considered the broadside fired upon the fort as a salute, and no further official notice was taken of the affair.

The embassy arrived towards the end of the year at Canton, and had several interviews with the authorities there. Before they left Canton, an edict was issued by the emperor Këa-king, addressed to all nations, wherein he exculpated himself, and confirmed the degradation of the commissioners. This was the result of fear, and the legates, who had come down with them from Peking, moreover, requested Lord Amherst to represent matters to his sovereign, in a way calculated to preserve peace and good will between the two countries. The embassy received the letter addressed to the Prince Regent, couched in very pompous words, and adding, that there would be no occasion to send in future a tribute-bearer from such a distance. In an edict, addressed to the viceroy at Canton by the emperor, it is said, in speaking of the ambassador and commissioners : “ You will invite them to dinner, in compliance with etiquette, and will make the following speech to them :—‘ Your good fortune has

been small ; you arrived at the gates of the imperial house, and were unable to lift your eyes to the face of heaven. The great emperor reflected, that your king sighed after happiness, and acted with sincerity. We therefore accepted some presents, and gifted your king with various precious articles. You must give thanks to the emperor for his benefits, and return with speed to your kingdom, that your king may feel a respectful gratitude for these acts of kindness. Take care to embark the rest of the presents. Answer in one word ; a decree has passed, we therefore dare not present troublesome petitions, and with decision, you will rid yourself of them. Respect this.' ”

Thus far we have given this short detail. The king of Acheen once sent an ambassador to Peking, during the reign of the Ming dynasty. He was requested to perform the kow-tow, and replied, “ I prostrate myself only before God, but not before a fellow mortal.” The performance of this ceremony was in consequence waived.

Some difficulties occurred the next year, 1817, but this was not owing to government. The embassy had so far exercised a beneficial influence, as to check them in their arbitrary proceedings.

In 1821, the boats' crew of the *Topaze* frigate,

when going on shore upon a watering expedition at Lintin, was attacked by the inhabitants. On perceiving the danger, the commanding-officer sent a detachment of marines on shore, and fired some guns, for the protection of the sailors. Fourteen Englishmen were wounded, with five Chinese, and one of the latter killed. The commander stated the whole case plainly in a letter to the governor of Canton, and requested, that a mandarin might be sent to inspect his wounded men. But the governor called the opposition made by the English captain, to send his men on shore, "the prancing pride of a outside-barbarian, which the celestial empire would not brook." He threatened that he "would stop the trade, which would bring the gain-scheming foreigners to his terms." He therefore made the select committee of supercargoes responsible. The critical juncture of circumstances, brought them to the resolution of embarking with all their property. Our celestial friends, with all their indifference towards trade and 'gain-scheming practices,' were not at all at ease, when they saw the fleet passing the Bogue, and devised several lies, to prove that the "murderers," (so called,) had run away. The frigate sailed, the factory was recalled, and trade again carried on, though the "murderers" were repeatedly demanded to be given up; but no steps

were taken to enforce compliance with the demand.

The trade of the British nation seemed not to be solely confined to the port of Canton, scarcely any attempt was made to revisit the emporiums, which formerly had been open to English enterprise. Almost in every quarter of the globe British trade has expanded ; but in China, where the demand of produce increased, and the sale of British manufacture was augmented, it was just the reverse. Instead of procuring the teas, where they grow, and visiting the ports of the north-east coast, where woollens and camlets would be greatly in demand, British trade and enterprise were solely confined to Canton. We can allege no other reason for this extraordinary retrogression in our commercial relations with China, than the fear of being subject in the other ports to heavier exactions. Had the trade with Fuh-keën and Che-këang, been carried on, many troubles with the local government at Canton would have been avoided. For the mutual jealousy of the provincial governments would have prevented the recurrence of grievances, which so often obstructed the trade. The oppressions of the mandarins would also have reached the ears of the supreme government at Peking ; the neighbourhood of British ships, at only a few days' sail from Teën-tsin, would have

intimidated the emperor. Though this seems not to have been the case at the commencement of our trade, when our ships not only visited Canton, but also Amuy and Chusan, it would now surely take place, as the number of ships is much greater. Yet, even waiving these advantages, the trade would have been twice as large, the importation of British manufactures in equal proportion.

The discontinuance of the trade to the north-east coast has been considered by the Chinese government as compulsory; and when it was discovered that no more ships arrived, an edict was issued by Keën-lung, addressed to barbarians in general, that all ports, except Canton, were shut against them. No remonstrance against this prohibition has ever been made. We are not aware, that the opening of the north-eastern ports was urged by the late embassy. Things remained in this state, till an enterprising English gentleman at Canton, the Danish consul, went, in 1823, to Namoa, (or Nan-aou,) at the eastern extremity of the Canton province. As he had a prohibited article on board, he could not enter the neighbouring large port of Ting-hae, which till lately has been very little known to Europeans: from thence he proceeded to Amuy, intending, if circumstances proved favourable, to trade there, which

Manilla ships only, under the Spanish flag, are allowed to do. The mandarins appeared very anxious to promote the object; but the delay in obtaining permission from the provincial capital, Fuh-choo, the state of the market, and other circumstances, occasioned his quitting the port after a stay of four days. A mandarin junk followed the ship to some distance, requesting her to return. They were received every where with civility; but until the viceroy's permission to trade should arrive, refreshments at Amuy were procureable with difficulty. The same vessel stayed for some time in Chin-chew bay, but no customers came near her; she had only sold some cargo at Namoa, and returned with but very partial success.

However, Mr. Matheson, the consul, was not to be baffled with this first mischance; he dispatched in the same year, the same vessel, which now met with abundant success in selling opium, and repaid the loss upon the former voyage. The trade was principally carried on at the 'Cape of Good Hope,' Ta-ho, a few miles to the westward of Namoa island. This attracted the notice of the other free merchants at Canton. The same brig having returned from another very successful trip to the same place, a number of other ships were therefore dispatched by other houses to participate in the

same profits. But affairs had undergone a great change; the local mandarins showed themselves very hostile to these enterprises; an edict was issued at Canton; the houses of the people on shore at Ta-ho, who had dealings with Europeans, were burned down, and the trade ceased entirely.

Another attempt was made by the same Mr. Matheson, to open a trade near Amuy, and at Formosa. The vessel sailed all along the shallow coast of that island, visited several ports, but found no customers. The Spanish ship, which had been the first voyage, went to Haenan, but could not dispose of any cargo. Notwithstanding these great reverses, a vessel was again sent to Formosa, which anchored at the northern harbour, Ke-lung, (or Ke-lang,) and disposed of all her opium, the mandarins having become their security merchants, 1824. During the space of four years, little was done to follow up the trade. The voyages which were undertaken in 1828, did not answer very well; and the trade was discontinued for a considerable period.

In Canton the importation of opium occasioned a good deal of trouble. The viceroy would have proceeded to extremities, if he had not discovered, that the principal smugglers were mandarins; and that the same boats which were sent to watch the ships, and to prevent

the importation of the pernicious drug, were principally engaged in the smuggling of this article. He, therefore, treated the matter with very great indifference, but issued additional orders to expel those ships which had it on board. This obliged the select committee of supercargoes to concur in the measures of the Chinese government, though the greater part of the opium was bought in Bengal from the stores of the Company. Those ships, therefore, which had hitherto carried on this trade at Wham-poa, began to anchor outside, and finally, in 1821, took up a permanent station near the island of Lintin. Several edicts were issued to expel, or even to destroy them ; the Chinese fleet hove occasionally in sight, and the ships were requested to move to another anchorage. A flaming report was in consequence sent up to the emperor, that they had been driven away, yet they stayed throughout the year, and went only during the south-west monsoon for a few months, to Kapsingmoon, (or Kap-shuy-moon,) a land-locked harbour in the neighbourhood. At first there were only two, but the number increased with the greater consumption of the prohibited article. Other commodities were also sent thither, and found a ready sale. Smuggling became a regular system, in the profits of which the mandarins largely participated; the

smugglers were regularly licensed by the custom-house officers, or the revenue cutters were sent to load the prohibited articles. That, however, the barbarians might not entirely escape the payment for the liberty they enjoyed, a regular fee was levied upon the goods on board, as soon as delivered; but especially upon the opium; and this is collected from the smugglers, for the Chinese mandarin, by the commander of the barbarian ship. In such a state matters still continue. Whilst the author is recording this, there are about thirty-five ships, English, as well as other craft, at anchor near Lintin. Some of them never enter the river, but remain there throughout the year; others take in their cargo, and return home; and several large ships, which are going up the river, if empty, or with room to spare, take in a cargo at Lintin, and go with it to Wham-poa. There prevails the most unbounded liberty; it may be considered as a floating foreign colony in China. No serious attempts have lately been made to disturb the trade, which is now enormous, and amounts to an equal sum with that carried on at Wham-poa. Daily are government boats passing and repassing with the "illicit, pernicious" drug on board. Though the edicts issued against the trade are very fierce, the mandarins take no effectual measures to stop it; nor, if so

inclined, would they be able to effect it. The extortions at Wham-poa are thus entirely avoided, and business is transacted with the greatest ease. A second rendezvous of ships has lately been fixed at Kum-sing-moon, also in the neighbourhood of Lintin, where the shipping, belonging to the largest house at Canton, has been stationed.

A few attempts, which were made by the Chinese government to prevent provisions being brought off to the ships by the Chinese, proved ineffectual. A serious affray occurred some years ago with a mandarin boat, which had taken a boat containing the clothes of the officers in the fleet. Several European boats were dispatched after her, and fired upon; this was returned, to the great disadvantage of the Chinese, and the boat rescued from their grasp. In October 1833, an old ship, which was to be broken up, was laid upon the beach near the Ke-aou island. The inhabitants, who are generally dreaded as pirates, pilfered several valuable articles belonging to the vessel. One man was caught in the act, and confined on board a European ship. Several Lascars belonging to that vessel went on shore, and whilst they were engaged in their work, one man was taken by the Chinese. To reclaim him the first officer of that ship landed with a number of Lascars, proceeded

to the village, and recovered the man belonging to his vessel ; but on his return he was attacked by a numerous crowd, who beat and threw stones at them. Having been finally disengaged, one secunnee* was missing, and the officer had to return without him. In order to obtain this man from their iron grasp, a large number of armed boats was dispatched to the village: they were saluted with grape-shot as soon as they approached the place, and sent a flag of truce to compromise the matter ; but the fire was immediately returned, and the batteries on shore silenced. However, to prevent the effusion of blood, the crew of the boats did not disembark, but quietly returned. The natives sent immediately a messenger to the mandarins at Heangshan, soliciting their assistance in protecting them against any further assault of the barbarians. Both a naval and land force arrived shortly afterwards, and took their station in the harbour and the village. The commander of the vessel, who had confined the Chinese thief on board, sent in consequence a full statement of the whole case to the commanding officer, who immediately engaged to deliver up the secunnee, but did not keep his promise ; a written declaration was therefore forwarded to the man-

* Secunnee, a class of sailors employed as steersmen in ships manned with Asiatics.

darins on shore, who were sent there to investigate the matter. When the messengers arrived in the village, an armed force of soldiers, and a number of militia from the island, were drawn up in two rows, armed with matchlocks, pitchforks, knives, daggers, and spears, through whom they had to pass. The mandarins were seated in a temple, and received them civilly; the paper was delivered, and the mandarins commenced the conversation with informing the barbarians, that the laws of the celestial empire are very strict; that they had been sent thither to investigate the matter, but could not discover the secunnee.

The commander of the ship had, however, been informed by private channels that the secunnee had been killed in cool blood. The messengers, therefore, insisted upon getting a written declaration, wherein the mandarins pledged themselves that they would punish the murderers according to the Chinese law; but as the local officers could give no satisfaction, and pretended to be ignorant of the whole affair, the matter was referred to the viceroy, who issued an edict, in which he pledged himself to punish the murderers after the lapse of forty days, when it might be ascertained whether any Chinese, who had been wounded in the affray, died or recovered. In the first case, a foreigner

should be delivered up to capital punishment by the Chinese executioner ; in the latter case, the law of the celestial empire should take its course. The government's report contained a great many falsehoods ; but this is so customary that barbarians are used to trifle with it.

A desire to obtain reasonable privileges from the Chinese government, has often been evinced by the British free-traders at Canton. Not being so much shackled by their relations at home, they are able to carry a point with comparatively great ease. Foreigners, who trade to China, and are residents, have usually a residence both at Macao and Canton. This is necessary, on account of health, almost to all. For they are, at Canton, entirely confined to the factories, there being few streets where they are allowed to walk, and if they occasionally venture to walk into the country, they are exposed to the insults of the populace. Besides, European females, under the denomination of "barbarian women," are "not allowed to reside in the provincial city," and those gentlemen who have families, keep up an establishment for them at Macao. To go from Canton to Macao, and *vice versa*, barbarians had to proceed in a boat, of which the permit, at that time, cost 400 dollars. The boat-hire might have amounted to eighty dollars, and the remaining money went to the

mandarins. To avoid this imposition, foreigners had to smuggle themselves in a fast-sailing boat with a number of rowers ; but if detected, they had to submit to the most ignominious treatment, and to a fine of from 300 to 1000 dollars. As there had been frequent instances of discovery, the foreign community at Canton finally resolved to address a petition to the viceroy. This passes, generally, through the hands of the security merchants, who are often very reluctant to forward papers which do not concern their interests, and whereby they may get in trouble, and be fined very heavily. This petition, however, went directly to the viceroy, and as the matter was, notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the parties concerned, deferred, the foreign merchants, therefore, resolved to repair in a body to the viceroy's palace. Formerly, merchants could obtain an audience from the viceroy, but this privilege had been given up, and the most important affairs were transacted through the dilatory channel of the hong merchants. The foreigners, in this case, found access to the city, which is always guarded by soldiers to prevent the intrusion of strangers. The mandarins were astonished at this boldness ; a military mandarin passed his hand around the neck of one of the parties, making a motion of decapitation ; the compliment was retorted upon

the linguist's neck,* who was present at this occasion. Two days afterwards, all the foreign merchants who had gone into the city, were requested to assemble, in order to hear, through the hong merchants, a communication from the viceroy. His excellency informed them, that he was exceedingly shocked and exasperated at what had occurred. To prevent a recurrence of so disgraceful a procedure, the city guard had been doubled, and received orders to put every foreigner to death, who dared to enter it. However the permission of getting a chop or licence, for a very moderate fee, was freely granted; reducing the expense of the passage in a Chinese boat, from 400 dollars to 38 dollars; and European boats, made on purpose, began now to ply without any license or restraint, between Canton and Macao, though before invariably fired at, if they attempted to pass the Bocca Tigris forts.

These unpleasant occurrences were occasionally interchanged with more pleasing events. The physicians of the Honorable Company's establishment, Drs. Pearson and Colledge, greatly exerted themselves to benefit poor sick

* See Appendix, No. I., for extract from a Calcutta newspaper (there was none then in China), giving a full account of this remarkable scene, than which a more striking proof of the imbecility of the Chinese government was never exhibited.

wretches. By the medium of the former, vaccination was introduced into China, and many poor people received gratuitous medical aid, whilst the latter erected a hospital for ophthalmic patients. The assistance afforded was so great, that many days were entirely spent in treating the most loathsome diseases; the Chinese government put no obstacle in the way, nor did they ever express their approbation. Poor, ruined fishermen have also received pecuniary aid, to buy again a boat; benevolence has been shown in various ways, but has never been acknowledged by government. They even communicated to the supreme council, papers of the Triad Society, full of treasonable expressions against the existing government, but no notice was taken of it. We only mention these few facts, to shew that there is a sincere desire on the part of foreigners, to conciliate the good will of the Chinese mandarins, but they have not proved successful.

In 1828, a very severe edict was issued against the use of opium, by the viceroy. He says, "the use of drink and food, is to introduce harmony into the system; the gulping of luscious things must be with a desire to obtain strength; but, if there exist a drug destructive of life, incessant efforts should be made to keep it at a distance. Having used the drug for some

time, the men accustomed to it can by no means relinquish it: their faces become as sharp as sparrows, and their heads sunk between the shoulders, in the form of a dove, the poison flows into their inmost vitals, physic cannot cure their disease, repentance comes too late for reform."

The laws, in regard to the exclusive trade with the hong merchants, were at the same time confirmed. The shopkeepers and merchants, not belonging to the company of privileged dealers, were prohibited, under severe penalties, to have any dealings with Europeans. In consequence of these prohibitions, some foreigners petitioned the hoppo. This grandee gave them a very decisive answer, saying: "The said barbarians, a short time ago, repeatedly presented dunning petitions for things contrary to the law, which shows their stupid rashness. From pity to the remote barbarians, I did not inflict chastisement; but ordered the merchants to deliberate safely, and manage. I likewise ordered them to communicate my orders to the said barbarian merchants, to obey the fixed regulations in their trade. If the said shopmen dare to stir up the barbarian merchants to confused petitioning, or if they presume to trade with the barbarians, the moment they are discovered and caught, their crime shall posi-

tively be punished with severity. Their perverseness and stupidity have reached the acme."

The reader will, perhaps, imagine that, after this severe edict, the trade with the outside merchants would have been discontinued; however, things went on in the customary way; the rescript was "upon record," and the "stupid barbarians" went on trading with the merchants who sold the goods at the cheapest rate.

In the same year, a large hong failed; those merchants, who were concerned in the affair, and lost an immense sum by this bankruptcy, immediately applied to the viceroy for the settlement of their outstanding debts; for the government makes the co-hong, or general body of hong merchants, responsible for each individual hong merchant. And there is kept a general fund, levied upon the trade of the "stupid barbarians," to defray the expenses, in case of emergency. The viceroy gave those English merchants a decided answer. "The laws of the celestial empire are rigidly severe, and never show any partiality. To dun me with petitions, and to prove that no justice is done to them (for the English merchants had repeatedly petitioned for redress), shows that their madness, rebellion, and audacity, have reached the utmost limits. By rights, they should be immediately seized and punished;

but in clemency I first issue this reprimand publicly. I will decidedly not show the least indulgence. Tremble at this!" These English gentlemen were afterwards forced to go to the city gate, in order to obtain redress. When the governor saw their earnestness of obtaining the payment of the debt, he arranged the affair to the satisfaction of both parties. But, to intimidate them, a severe edict was issued, prohibiting barbarians approaching the city gate.

In 1829, the discussions with government took a very serious turn: in this, the supercargoes of the Hon. East India Company were principally interested. The grievances were various; partly concerning the hong merchants; partly called forth by the obnoxious measures of government. The trade was in consequence entirely stopped by the select committee, and the ships remained outside until the matters were adjusted. On the following year, several English ladies went up to Canton with their husbands. Some gentlemen dared to move out in sedan-chairs, instead of the more humble practice of walking, to which they are generally constrained. These circumstances called forth severe prohibitions; in consequence of which, and other causes of complaint, a petition was delivered by a great number of English gentlemen at the city gate, addressed to the three principal officers of the supreme

government. They state : " Is it not high Heaven that has given birth to all the nations of mankind ? Are they not reciprocally of the same species ? It was the same Heaven that gave existence to Mantchoos and Chinese which gave existence to Englishmen : with high Heaven there is no partial heart. China is by Heaven conferred upon the east ; and England, by the same Heaven, is conferred on the people of the west. All nations belong to high Heaven ; they should not boast against each other. It is directed, that the hong merchants and linguists shall continually teach the foreigners, repress their pride and profligacy, and insist on their turning, with all their heart, to civilization. But the men who are directed to instruct us, are themselves very ignorant. Your edict also mentions, ' that barbarians use boys, public women, &c.' The English consider the crime alluded to deserving death. Edicts to that effect have annually been issued, and stuck up at the foreign factories. But how can the great officers of government, without the least proof, publish groundless reports, which they have sought for, to bring ignominy and disgrace upon all foreigners ?" They also urge the custom of bringing their wives with them as nowise repugnant to the laws of the celestial empire, and according to the dictates of nature.

A very sharp answer from the hoppo, Tseang-keun (or commander-in-chief) and viceroy, was returned to the petitioners.—“ How can the said chief, Baynes (the president of the select committee) resist the prohibition and orders, and bring with him a barbarian woman to the city of Canton! If she will remove early to Macao, he will avoid a severe scrutiny. As to sitting in sedan chairs, it is in itself a small business, but foreigners being in the provincial city, have hitherto not been allowed to ascend sedan chairs.—(A direct falsehood.)—In consequence of various foreign nations coming to Canton to trade, whose languages are unintelligible, and they incapable of understanding the proprieties, laws, prohibitions and orders of the celestial empire, it was impossible for them to avoid pride and profligacy. Being apprehensive, that traitorous natives might seduce to a violation of the laws, proclamations containing severe edicts were published anew, really with the intention of looking down and compassionating the barbarians, to prevent their being entangled in the net of the law. But the said barbarians in their petition, turn it into a disgraceful insult to them, which really shows their ignorance of the substantialities of the business. With an impartial mind, consider the matter silently, and you will be vehemently aroused. Since the fo-

reigners are to trade, it is only incumbent on them to obey implicitly the orders of government. All the great officers of government in Canton, look up and realize his majesty's desire to treat foreigners tenderly, and they continually stoop to manifest kindness to those who come ; but in matters of prohibitions, how can they in the least degree indulge in remissness ! How did the chief remain ignorant of the proclamations, which were put up according to usage, and in past years never observe the disgrace and insult, but only this year open out his irregular crazy proceeding : There must be some native traitor in the concern, devising and fanning the flame. To sum up the whole, the said chief and others, having passed over the ocean, so great a distance to come and trade, our sacred dynasty, which benevolently nurtures ten thousand states, doubtless will not view them in another light. But the flowery nation (Chinese), and the barbarians must be distinctly divided ; between those inside and outside, there must be erected a great boundary. Therefore, it has not been the rule for foreign women to reside in Canton ; therefore, sending them to Macao, is really the way to give entire security. The proclamations are really to show tenderness to foreigners, and to soothe and tranquillize them ; but the said foreigners, ignorant how to be ex-

cited to gratitude, turn around, and because of the proclamations disallowing them to bring barbarian women to Canton, and to sit in sedan chairs, present whining petitions."

As the British factory was, however, threatened with an armed force, they sent for two large guns, and a hundred and fifty sailors, to protect their hong. This measure had the desired effect; the Chinese government stooped, and retracted their former violent assertions; upon which, the military show was withdrawn. The hoppo said: "I was only afraid, that the said barbarian merchants would throw themselves into the net of the law, and, therefore, previously promulgated instruction, and stooped to show the way of preserving all entire. As they say the language of the proclamation was rather ignominious, why did not the former barbarian merchants early indulge their anger, and with hearts dead to the subject, cease to come again, to bow at the service for an open market; but the fact is, they clung to the means of getting a livelihood. The governor, and I, the hoppo, have already met, and according to the facts reported for the hearing of the great emperor, although he intensely cherishes tender thoughts, how can he extend indulgences to violators of the law. The said chief and others must, as is incumbent, over and over, deeply meditate, and become aroused

and awakened, and repent of the present, and guard against the future. Do not scheme for selfish convenience, and obstinately adhere to your former talk. Thus, with a quiet mind, keeping in your station, you may enjoy the favour of benevolent rule. The chief exhibited every sort of contemptuous behaviour: death is not sufficient to cover his crime. If hereafter we shall receive his majesty's commands to take Baynes and punish his crimes, it will then be right that he be delivered over to be punished. He must not clandestinely steal away, in the hasty hope of getting off, as if nothing had occurred."

In a report of the viceroy to the emperor upon this subject, it is said: "We find on examination, that the foreigners are covetous of profit, and very crafty and artful. It is not Baynes alone who is thus, so that although Baynes is now dismissed, (he was replaced by Mr. Marjoribanks, who had just come out from England), it is difficult to insure, that in future those foreigners who are put in his stead, will not again madly form crafty plans; we can only immediately examine into the matter, and issue strict orders for them to understand, that hereafter, it is absolutely necessary, that the English, and all foreigners of the various nations, pay implicit obedience to the prohibitions of

the celestial empire, and tranquilly continue the ordinary course of trade. If any should presume again to oppose, it will be our duty, in obedience to your majesty's will, to form some plan for driving them out, and inflicting severe punishment and correction, without, in the slightest degree, approximating to, or making accommodation with them, in order thereby to make the dignity of the empire revered, and to keep in awe the stupid obstinacy of the barbarians."

A great object of grievance, was the oppressive system of government carried on against the hong merchants. They availed themselves of every opportunity to fine them to a very large amount, and to put them under great restraint. The consequence was that most of the hong were on the eve of bankruptcy, and were often in great embarrassment for want of funds. To remedy this evil, the select committee, in 1829, made several propositions for an alteration in the system. The governor therefore increased the number, without changing their original constitution, and the trade was again renewed. A petition addressed to the Bombay government, presented by the native merchants, who traded very largely in cotton, greatly accelerated the business. The select committee made

several remonstrances, and the Chinese government yielded to their entreaties.

In consequence of the repeated obstructions in the trade, the free merchants then residing at Canton presented a petition to the British parliament, December, 1830. In this they state : " While British intercourse with every other considerable state in the world is regulated by international treaties, that with the Chinese empire is abandoned to the arbitrary control of the local authorities of Canton, a venal and corrupt class of persons, who having purchased their appointments, study only the means of amassing wealth by extortion and injustice, equally unrestrained by their own, and unopposed by the governments whose subjects they oppress. For the attainment of this end severe burdens are imposed upon commerce, unsanctioned by and often in defiance of commands from the imperial government at Peking ; to which the most erroneous reports are made of occurrences in this remote province, while no means of counteraction by opposing statements are in any way afforded to your petitioners. Your petitioners entertain a firm belief that much may be obtained from the fears, but that nothing will ever be conceded by the good-will of the Chinese government. Hitherto, Great Britain has been obliged to pursue the trade

with that country under circumstances the most discouraging ; hazardous to its agents employed to conduct it, and precarious to the various interests involved in it. The only place where his majesty's subjects have the privilege of a factory is at Canton ; the fair competition of the market is there destroyed by associations of the Chinese. Our supercargoes are denied open access to the tribunals of the country and to the equal execution of its laws, and are kept altogether in a most arbitrary state of depression, ill suited to the importance of the concerns which are entrusted to their care, and scarcely compatible with the regulations of civilized society. The result of the two British embassies, in common with those of all other European governments, will forcibly suggest to your honourable house how little is to be gained in China by any of the refinements of diplomacy. Even violence has frequently received friendly treatment at the hands of this government, while obedience and conformity to its arbitrary laws, have met only with the return of severity and oppression. While your petitioners acknowledge it as an undeniable principle, that foreigners should yield obedience to the laws of the country in which they reside, they submit that this doctrine cannot be maintained in favour of a government which, like the Chinese,

withholds from foreigners the protection of its laws, and whose power is felt only in a system of unceasing oppression, pursued on the avowed principle of considering every other people as placed many degrees below its own in the scale of human beings. English ships were formerly admitted to trade at various ports,—Amuy, Ning-po, the islands of Chusan, and Formosa; but of late, the entire foreign commerce of this vast empire has been restricted to the single port of Canton, where the exorbitant harbour-duties operate as a virtual exclusion of the smaller class of shipping. From the moment a foreign vessel arrives, her business is liable to be delayed by underlings of the custom-house, on frivolous pretexts, for the sake of extorting unauthorised charges. The duty on her import cargo is levied in an arbitrary manner, by low, unprincipled men, who openly demand bribes. Even the sacred ties of domestic life are disregarded, in the separation of husband and wife, parent and child, rendered unavoidable by a capricious prohibition against foreign ladies residing in Canton; for which there appears no known law, and no other authority than the plea of usage. Your petitioners would anticipate the most beneficial results from the permanent residence in Peking of a representative of his majesty, instructed to act with becoming spirit

in protecting the interests of his countrymen. Unless through the direct intervention of his majesty's government, in communication with the court of Peking, your petitioners fear, that no material extension of British commerce, or effectual amelioration of the humiliating condition of British subjects in China, can be expected. If unattainable by the course suggested, your petitioners indulge a hope that the government of Great Britain, with the sanction of the legislature, will adopt a resolution worthy of the nation, and by the acquisition of an insular possession near the coast of China, place British commerce in this remote quarter of the globe beyond the reach of future despotism and oppression."

Though this paper states with great precision, founded upon an intimate acquaintance with the state of affairs, the only remedies whereby an amelioration of our commercial intercourse may be obtained, the exclusive nature of the East India Company's privileges prevented its being taken into consideration at that time; but in the subsequent discussions now pending, it is understood to have had great weight with members of parliament as well as his majesty's government, who, it is to be hoped, may frame an arrangement calculated to remedy past errors.

New troubles again disturbed the commercial intercourse in 1831. The select committee gave therefore, the following notice to the British residents at Canton.

“ From the disposition which has recently been shown in various acts of the Canton government, the president and select committee are under apprehension that British commerce with China cannot be conducted with credit or security, while it remains exposed to them. They do, therefore, as representatives of the British nation in China, give public notice, that should the evils complained of remain unremedied, all commercial intercourse between the two countries will be suspended on the 1st of August next.”

The grievances were the following :— The seizure, close imprisonment, and subsequent death of a hong merchant; his alleged crime being his traitorous connection with the English. No association whatever did take place with this merchant, except of an extensive commercial nature, and in his mercantile dealings he proved himself a most intelligent and industrious man.— An attack made upon the British factory by the Foo-yuen, with a numerous retinue of armed attendants. He treated the king's picture with indignity, and threatened the senior hong merchants, who remained

all the while upon their knees, with imprisonment and death, on account of their connection with the English: the senior linguist was, at the same time, fettered in the company's factory, and orders given for his execution, which was, however, commuted into imprisonment. The gates of the factory leading to the river were broken down, and a quay, built by the express sanction of the governor, demolished. In addition, an edict was published, interdicting the employment of native servants, and the presentation of petitions at the city gates, precluding all communication with Canton by means of foreign boats, and ordering bodies of soldiers to act as a guard on the ships at anchor at Whampoa. This was done without the least provocation on the side of the foreigners; a deputation was sent to complain to the Canton authorities; no redress was given; the select committee were informed that this was only the commencement of a course of proceedings of a similar character; "But if barbarians decline submitting to the commands of government, they will be expelled from the country, and for ever prohibited from coming to Canton for the purpose of commerce."

The committees, in consequence of this outrage, sent dispatches to the India government, to call in the aid of the Governor-general. As

an address to the Foo-yuen was rejected, the committee published the facts, and distributed and stuck up on the walls of streets in Canton, a paper of remonstrances in the Chinese language.

Soon afterwards an edict arrived from Peking, which fully sanctioned the proceedings of the Foo-yuen. This paper stated, "The barbarians' disposition being deceitful and crafty, it is absolutely necessary to carry into effect prohibitions and orders with severity, and to give importance to guards set up by old regulations. The said barbarian merchants have, on former occasions opposed interdicts and orders, but since they came of themselves to repentance, let, through clemency, their punishment be waived. But it is absolutely necessary to order them to obey and hold fast the old regulations. How can it be that they will again oppose and transgress? Still, if they be allowed daily to increase in arrogance and insolence in a trifling with, and contempt of, the laws; in indulging their irregular disposition to perverse refractoriness, and gradually going on to an increased exhibition of their pride and want of self-restraint, what eventually will the appearance of things be? Let the said governor (the edict was addressed to the viceroy at Canton) and others be strict in enforcing our internal

customs, and so eradicate the disturbance of foreign barbarians. It is altogether incumbent not to lose the respectability of the celestial empire in governing. The management will be supremely good." The viceroy added to this, "Hereafter, it will be absolutely necessary to yield implicit obedience to the laws and regulations of the celestial empire, and adhere strictly to old arrangement. If again any dare to oppose or transgress, and again create disturbance, then assuredly, in immediate adherence to the imperial will, a severe scrutiny will be made, and punishment inflicted. Decidedly there will not be the least clemency or forbearance shown. Tremble at this! Intensely—intensely are these commands given!"

The private merchants at Canton made very reasonable remonstrances, and were answered; "The celestial empire, in cherishing tenderness to distant foreigners, has constantly stooped to show compassion: but between the flowery Chinese and barbarians there doubtless is a settled distinction; between those within and those without, there must be established a grand barrier. The dignity of the great emperor requires obedience and severity. How can the barbarian merchants of every nation be suffered to indulge their own wishes in opposition and contempt of the laws? The said merchants are

not allowed to create disturbance and again dun with petitions. Intensely, intensely are these orders issued !”

Notwithstanding these events the committee withdrew the prohibition of carrying on the trade. The Foo-yuen afterwards retracted some of his violent acts. “I,” said he, “the acting governor (for the viceroy had gone in the meanwhile to Peking) when young, read poetry and books, and my rational disposition is to issue orders with attentive respect. Although it was a child, supposing no violation of the law, I would not trample upon it. How could I enter the people’s factory and insult the king’s picture? (He did this in broad daylight !) There must be some Chinese traitor, who has stirred up and instigated to this assertion. The said chief (Mr. Marjoribanks, a gentlemen, who acted during these transactions with the greatest forbearance and prudence,) ought, by all means, to speak out plainly ; that having proof, the offender may be punished. The said chief has received the commands of the king, to come to China, a distance of myriads of miles, to trade. He ought to keep in control the barbarians pertaining to him, quietly to remain in his station, and to maintain the laws, not ravelling and confusing old regulations : this is the path of a long, lasting tranquillity. This is one of

the great points of reverence and respect, and what may be called not dishonouring one's prince's commands. As to worshipping the picture of the princes, there is originally no impropriety in it, but it is befitting that he set up a curtain screen, and an altar with incense, that the devotion may be manifested. But this is what pertains to the said chief's own province. I, the acting governor, love men in connexion with virtue. As the said chief has a knowledge of propriety and justice, and has spoken about reverence and respect, I have therefore with earnestness and minuteness given my commands on the whole subject, for his information.

- Tremble at this, intensely, intensely; these are my commands."

Several men-of-war sent from India, reached Canton towards the end of 1831. Captain Freemantle, commander of the *Challenger*, was the bearer of a letter from the governor-general of India, to the viceroy at Canton, who by this time had returned from his visit to Peking. After much discussion, Captain Freemantle was allowed to deliver the letter to the Hëë-tae, a military mandarin at Canton. "I am sure," the letter to the viceroy said, "your excellency cannot have approved, and will be ready to disavow, the violent, unjust, and indecent proceedings, which the subordinate officers in Canton

have been led into during your excellency's absence. It will give me joy to hear that your excellency's wisdom has anticipated my hopes and wishes in this respect, and your excellency's reputation will be increased a hundred fold, by such a restoration of affairs. May God grant that such has been the issue.—I appeal to your excellency, if they (the committee) should deem it necessary to appeal to your wisdom and justice, to give to their wrongs a fair and candid consideration. You will thus confer on me a personal obligation, and will relieve me from the anxiety with which I should view the necessity of considering what further measures of support the aggrieved merchants have a right to expect at my hands."

The viceroy did not answer this friendly letter, but wrote an evasive proclamation to the committee, without giving the least redress. "It is necessary," he said, "that the chief, second, third, and fourth supercargoes, who reside at Canton, for the general management of the commerce, should be intelligent persons, who understand business, implicitly adhering to old established customs, and not listening to the insidious suggestions of Chinese traitors. The celestial empire's graciousness and politeness are constant. I decidedly will not despise or ill-treat any. I, also the minister and governor,



look up and imitate the great emperor's infinite tenderness to men from remote regions ; and decidedly will never cease to observe their reverence and submission, so as to preserve all entire. It is incumbent on the said chief and others, to take the authoritative decisions which have been issued, and promulgate them for information. Why do they again, and a third time obstinately refuse to transmit those injunctions, and dun us with requests to give a written document in return ? Exceedingly does it indicate refractory stupidity. As to the said captain, availing himself of the north wind, that now blows, and returning at an early day, let him make haste and set sail—these are my commands.”

Here the matter ended.—No official reply was given. The presence of three British men-of-war had intimidated the local government ; the proud rulers were apprehensive that some serious mischief might occur, and they therefore stooped so far as to give a fair turn to the whole affair. It was expected, that the British squadron in India would make its appearance at Canton, but the fleet was countermanded. The Chinese rejoiced at having found means to outwit the stupid barbarians ; however, the eight restrictive laws, which would have brought the English on a par with the Dutch, in Japan, by

placing them, even in their own factories, under the guardianship of the hong merchants and linguists, were never executed. The Court of Directors at home, greatly disapproved of the measures taken, though thereby the trade might have been freed from its shackles. In both instances,—1830,—1831,—they saw no necessity for going to extremes. Things turned thus into the old channel; the British flag was again hoisted at the arrival of another chief, and no complaint found any redress. The attention of the Chinese government was fully engaged in the war of the Meaou-tsie, an indigenous tribe in Canton, Kwang-se, and Hoo-nan provinces. Trade therefore was carried on with less annoyance. This unsuccessful war proved the cause of disgrace to the old viceroy of Canton, who was sent into exile, into the cold regions of Ele. However, to show some favour to the hong merchants, his imperial majesty condescended to accept a considerable sum of money from them, and bestowed upon the two senior merchants, as an acknowledgment of their patriotism, the peacock's feather, a mark of distinction equally as honourable as with us the garter. But this money, which the hong merchants are forced to furnish, is nothing but an indirect tax upon the barbarians; for their Chinese mercantile friends make them pay

their own expences, for obtaining the imperial favour. Choo, the foo-yuen, a very patriotic and disinterested statesman, persevered in his hatred towards foreigners. Once observing two gentlemen, who had come to assist in quenching a fire, he made the motion of cutting off their heads, a very graceful compliment, and a true exhibition of Chinese compassion. The next governor who arrived, received the most explicit orders from the emperor, to prevent all disturbance, and to treat the barbarians kindly. He has hitherto shown himself in a very favourable light, and always listened with attention to the complaints of foreigners. No serious disturbance or stoppage of trade, has occurred under his administration. As several ships had lately gone up the coast, and bitterly complained about the oppressions of the local government at Canton, the emperor issued strict orders to all the officers, to treat barbarians with the greatest justice, in order to take from them every pretence of repairing to other Chinese harbours, where they might trade on more advantageous terms.

The expeditions sent up to the north-east coast of China, are worthy the notice of the British public. Before the enlightened and worthy chief, Marjoribanks, embarked for England, in 1832, he thought it would be very conducive

to the promotion of British trade that a ship should be sent up to the harbours of the northern provinces, in order to open a trade. Mr. Lindsay, a member of the British factory, was sent on this experimental voyage. The ship arrived at Amuy, and a friendly message, from the principal civil mandarin, was sent on board to inform the supercargo, that he would forward, as much as it was in his power, the sale of their goods. It was also the earnest wish of the supercargo to gain the authorities by acts of kindness, and to do every thing in his power, to conciliate their good will. After having addressed a letter to the high admiral of this station, an edict was received on board, which strictly prohibited all trade to this port. However, to endeavour by sound reasoning to convince the mandarins, that such a prohibitory law was unjust, an audience was requested, and granted. It was stated before the principal officers of this port, that the Amuy junks traded to the British colonies without any interruption from the authorities, and that many thousands of the natives of this place, had settled in the English possessions. It was therefore reasonable to expect, that the same privileges which we so freely granted to the Chinese merchants, would find an equivalent, in their granting a free trade to the port of Amuy. The mandarins could plead nothing

but the law of the emperor, and thus the conference ended. The mandarins, seeing that we were kind, and unwilling to force the trade, presumed upon our good intentions. A fleet was anchored around the British ship, and the guns pointed at her. Natives, who, prompted by curiosity to see a foreign vessel, had come alongside the ship, were forcibly taken away, severely beaten, and put in the pillory, for having held treacherous intercourse with the barbarians. When it was evident that nothing could be gained by acts of kindness, the ship had to muster her guns in self-defence, and to ward off an attack. As soon as the mandarins saw this, they retired to a distance, and were no more troublesome. From thence the ship proceeded towards the Pescadores and Formosa. As there were no mandarins on that coast, the ship having anchored at Woo-teaou, the natives came off in crowds and traded a little. Some messengers were dispatched by them to invite merchants, but the ship did not remain long enough to await their arrival. Having found her way to Fuh-choo, and delivered a petition to the foo-yuen of Fuh-keën, who resides there, they had first to drive away the mandarin fleet, which had anchored around the ship, and then entered into a contract with the civil mandarin at the entrance of the river, and sold Bri-

tish piece-goods to some extent. All the mandarins were friendly and obliging, as soon as they saw that the English were fully determined to trade; but so long as this favour was solely requested in humble petitions, they frowned at the idea. At Ning-po they received the fairest promises; a bargain for a considerable quantity of piece-goods was closed under the sanction of the mandarins, who sent the merchants on board. However, this engagement was again broken off by the faithless mandarins, who offered in lieu of the advantages of the trade, a demurrage for having detained the ship. The consternation at the appearance of a British vessel, was here so great, that the mandarins would have granted every thing, if they had been forced to terms. However, this was not thought advisable, and the ship left the port with a document, which informed the English: "That the virtue of the great emperor was boundless, though the celestial empire keeps all nations in subjection, and exercises an uncontrolled sway over the four seas." Yet, strange to say, the whole imperial fleet of this place, was not able to prevent one single British ship from entering the harbour. A little trade was afterwards carried on at Kintang, a beautiful island in the neighbourhood of Ning-po, and then proceeded to Shang-hae, in Keang-soo. Here they met with a most deter-

mined resistance on the part of the government, which was even more contemptible than at Ning-po ; but they had no right to force the trade, and were therefore obliged to quit the harbour without having done any thing. Having touched at Shan-tung, they went over to Korea, where a long discussion with the king's officers took place, whilst their offers of opening a trade with this exclusive nation were rejected. The same was the case at the Loo-choo islands, where this privilege was refused upon the plea, that there were no articles for barter.

The result of this voyage was, a conviction that a trade with the north-eastern ports might be opened, if the British government insisted upon it. All the local mandarins agreed, that it was very desirable we should be allowed to trade to all Chinese ports, since we had granted the same permission to their own nation. The people were very eager to carry on commercial dealings, notwithstanding the utmost vigilance of the mandarins. Nothing could exceed their friendliness and hospitality towards foreigners. A pamphlet, which gave a short outline of the British nation, had been distributed amongst the people, and greatly tended to give them a favourable idea of the English, and to remove their prejudices against barbarians. It was also ascertained that the native trade in

these parts was immense, and that the British trade would be as extensive in proportion. As the supercargo offered to pay the duties upon all articles, and to trade according to law, he was requested to anchor outside, and do in the way of business as much as he could, whilst the mandarins pledged themselves not to disturb his commercial dealings, or to annoy the native merchants, who came to him. This has been repeatedly urged.

In the meantime, three other ships were sent up the coast, by the largest commercial English house at Canton. One of them proceeded as far as the Chusan islands, the others anchored below Amoy, but none of them entered any port, but sold so much opium as to defray the expences of the voyage.

These expeditions were followed up by the "Sylph," a fast-sailing, warlike-looking vessel, which sailed as far as Mantchoo Tatary, and got upon a bank. The mandarins refused all assistance, whilst the natives treated the crew very kindly. When she arrived on her return, at Shang-hae, the mandarins expected that she was the bearer of preliminaries from the king of England to conclude a commercial treaty. They could not think, that the enterprising British nation, would quietly give up the idea of trading after one unsuccessful voyage; but on

the contrary, would push with their customary vigour so advantageous a commerce, which might open a large field for the exportation of British manufacture. In this, however, they were grossly deceived, for the directors at home, highly disapproved of similar attempts, and the excellent president of the select committee, in whom the first expedition originated, had left Canton. The ship, however, traded in Keang-soo, amongst the Chusan islands, and on the coasts of Fuh-keën and Che-këang. The same promise was reiterated and urged by the mandarins, that they would grant full permission to trade outside, but could not allow a legal trade in the harbour, which was in direct opposition to the imperial laws. They even traded themselves, and also procured merchants. Another ship had, at the same time, sold a considerable quantity of opium on the coast of Fuh-keën, but could not succeed at Fuh-choo. Two subsequent attempts on the coast of Fuh-keën, proved equally successful, as regarded opium; and British piece-goods are gradually coming into notice, as an article of trade on a limited scale. With these repeated efforts to open a trade, the vigilance of the mandarins has relaxed, and they have shown themselves only occasionally. However, the edicts against trading at any other port except Canton, are very fierce. The admirals are ordered

to drive the barbarian ships away, and not to allow them to anchor for one moment. The reverse, however, is the case; for a single ship, manned by Lascars, has frequently driven a whole imperial squadron before her. When the emperor perceived that his orders were not obeyed, he became very angry with his naval officers, and deprived several of their rank, which was, however, restored after a few months. For the admirals alleged: "That the barbarians were crafty, and that lying was a second nature to them; that they crept in like rats, and it was impossible to keep them off; so that, after having driven them away, they immediately returned." The emperor was finally wise enough to desist from issuing any further edicts, and only enjoined the local mandarins to abstain from all acts of oppression, in order to avoid furnishing a pretence to barbarians to go in search of their fortunes in other parts.

It is humbly hoped, that the British government will procure so large a trade to the English merchants. But it will be in vain to do any thing in the way of negotiation, without overawing a weak and contemptible government. The whole Chinese fleet, consisting of 1000 vessels, large and small included, is not able to cope with one single frigate. The nation at large is desirous of trade; the local mandarins

are anxious to favour it, if they can do it without being detected by their superiors.

As the British dominion in India had been extended as far as the frontiers of Tibet, Nepal, and Bootan, it was naturally to be expected, that the English would come in contact with the celestials. During the administration of Mr. Hastings, the Teshoo-lama of Tibet proceeded to Peking, and dying soon after his arrival there, Sumhur-lama, his brother, fled from Lahsa to Nepal, taking with him a considerable quantity of the treasure, which had been hoarded up for many ages. The avarice of the Nepal government was thereby considerably excited; they went twice to Lahsa, and returned with immense booty. The Chinese, irritated at the outrage committed against a place, which the reigning family considers as sacred, marched a large army into Nepal, and penetrated as far as within sixty miles of the Bengal frontier, but did not cross it (1792). The humbled Nepaulese, therefore, concluded an ignominious treaty, and promised to pay a regular tribute to heaven's son. The Gorkhas having, in 1814, attacked the British frontiers, Sir David Ochterlony marched towards Katmandu, the capital. As his army proved victorious, the Chinese were greatly alarmed; for the Nepaulese represented to the court of Peking, that the dif-

ference had arisen, in consequence of our having demanded the passes through the Heemá-chul, which they, as faithful vassals, had refused to surrender. The court, therefore, resolved to dispatch immediately an army, and a confidential prudent minister, to ascertain the real state of things in Nepaul. They, however, charged the Gorkhas with having given rise to the war, and marched a large army into the country. The Nepaulese now applied for protection to the British authorities, who advised them to negotiate with the invaders, and refused to interfere. A letter was sent to the Chinese commander, which put the celestials quite at rest, and fully satisfied them, that the British government would not advocate the cause of the Nepaulese. The consequence was, that the Chinese brought Nepaul to a nominal subjection, and upbraided the chiefs for being a mischievous race. The rajah of the Bootans began also to tremble, and invoked the aid of the British forces. But as matters were peaceably settled, nothing further of any importance occurred.*

It is to be hoped, that with the cessation of the monopoly, a salutary change will take place in our trade with China. It surely will increase,

* See Parliamentary Reports relative to the trade with East India and China. Staunton's, Abel's, Ellis', and Morrison's accounts of the embassies to Peking.—Canton Register, &c.

and it will be only our own fault, if it is not improved and expanded. To preserve the same relations which have hitherto existed between the Chinese government and the British merchant, will be impossible. It will give rise to incessant quarrels on both sides. There is no law in China to protect the British merchant, nor has there ever been a commercial treaty concluded to secure the trade. There exists no commercial tariff, no mutual understanding, no friendly relation. The most unprejudiced man will very soon feel the rod of this paternal government. But let us not anticipate too many evils, since we may rest assured, that the British government will take wise and vigorous measures to put the trade upon a firm basis, and to encourage every enterprise for its extension.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SPANIARDS.

AFTER the discovery of America, the Spaniards rose to be, for a time, the first nation in the world, and extended their conquests from one quarter of the globe to the other. Having taken possession of the Philippine islands, and of all Portuguese colonies in Asia, they consequently became also masters of Macao. The Chinese did not interfere in an arrangement which was made, without bloodshed, between the Portuguese and Spaniards. They had also a factory on the north part of Formosa, at Ke-lung, and somewhere in the south. But the Dutch, their implacable enemies, drove them from both stations, and prevented the native junks from trading any more to Manilla. The Chinese willingly yielded to laws dictated by an admiral, and the Fuh-keën trade to the Philippine islands ceased.

The Chinese squadron of Ching-ching-kung threatened repeatedly to make a descent upon Luconia, which occasioned at Mánilla great consternation. Once, it is said, a Chinese pirate invaded the country, and committed great atrocities. This invasion was the more dangerous, because several of the Chinese settlers had joined their countrymen, and were their guides. By order of the government in council, all Chinese were expelled from Manilla and the adjacent islands, those only excepted who had become Christians, and proved themselves to be such. Shortly afterwards occurred an entire stoppage of the Chinese trade, which, however, was gradually renewed, and principally carried on by the natives of Tseuen-choo and Amuy. The Spaniards themselves were allowed to come to Macao, Canton, and Amuy. To the last-named place very few ships traded; at Canton they had once a factory; but their commerce with Macao was very brisk. The Philippine islands are excellently situated for a trade with China; their produce finds a ready market in all the emporiums; but, alas! industry and the cultivation of fallow ground have never found sufficient encouragement, nor are the aborigines much inclined to work. Thus the only staple article for the Chinese market has been rice, and even this in measured quantities.

During the latter end of the last century, the Chinese native trade to Manilla was very brisk. Many Chinese settlers passed over, and by their industry, amassed considerable capital. All those who had married were forced to become Roman Catholics, though innumerable converts crowded to the churches. To prevent, however, the further growth of the trade, an enormous duty was levied upon the Chinese articles of export and import; and to prevent a further influx of a set of highly industrious colonists, who are the soul of business throughout the Philippines, a heavy poll-tax was levied upon them. After many successful efforts, the Spaniards have now the pleasure to observe that the trade is almost banished, and only few Chinese emigrants arrive annually to awaken their fears, whilst those who cannot pay the enormous poll-tax are sent away by force.

As the trade with foreign vessels has been connived at, the commerce between Macao and Manilla is rather on the increase. Both American, as well as English vessels, visit the port, and fetch cargoes for the Chinese market.

To the king of Spain the honour is due of having made the first attempt to introduce vaccination into China. A ship came on purpose from Manilla to Macao, in 1803, with the vaccine matter on board. Such attempts are very laud-

able, and eminently tend to bring on a good understanding between nations.

RUSSIANS.

A mere adventurer conquered for Russia the Tatar tribes in Siberia, at the same time that the Mantchoo Tatars invaded China. Eager to collect as many furs as were procurable, the Russians pushed their conquests as far as Kam-schatka, and extended them towards the south, as far as the Baikal Lake and the river Amoor ; and thus they became neighbours of the Mongol and Mantchoo Tatars. To consolidate a commerce between China and Siberia, they sent during the reign of Shun-che, several ambassadors to the court at Peking. They obtained on very advantageous terms the permission to send annually a trading caravan to Peking, and to carry on the trade to the mutual benefit of both parties. Not satisfied with these privileges, and eager to obtain a firmer footing, the Russians extended their colonies farther and farther south towards the Selinga and Amoor, and did not scruple even to encroach upon the territories of the Mongols. The Chinese, jealous of so powerful a neighbour, erected some fortresses along the frontier to oppose their progress, 1670. It was natural, that some dissensions respecting the boundaries should arise,

both parties pleaded their right of possession to these dreary regions ; but as the matters could not be amicably adjusted, they had recourse to arms, (1684, 1685). Matters had come to a crisis, and if the Russians at that time had been, what they are now, they would have pushed their conquests to the gates of Peking. However, they adopted the safer course of negotiation. Upon the request of czar Alexowitz, the emperor Kang-he appointed Nipchoo, a place north-west of Yaksa, as a rendezvous where the plenipotentiaries of both nations should meet, and dispatched the missionaries Gerbillon and Parrennin as his envoys. They left Peking in June, 1689. Kang-he, in order to facilitate the negotiation, had sent some thousand soldiers to accompany his envoy. The Russian plenipotentiaries complained bitterly, saying, whilst alluding to the soldiers : “ they have acted as if they came not to treat of peace but to make war, and ravage the country ; they have posted themselves around the fortress, and being asked what their intention was, they answered, we have no account to give, but will go where we think fit.” The negotiations were commenced, broken off and renewed. Chinese subtlety and Russian stubbornness met together ; the interests of both parties were widely different, and the whole conference would have been broken off,

if the missionaries had not interfered. To increase the difficulties, some Tatar tribes sent messengers from Siberia, stating, that they were willing to re-enter the dominions of the Chinese emperor; the conferences would never have come to a satisfactory conclusion, if the presence of a Chinese army had not spoken strongly in favour of Kang-he's claim. The Russian envoys had been taken by surprise, and they saw no alternative but adjusting the matter, or concluding a disadvantageous treaty. They finally agreed to a treaty of peace, and the Chinese ambassador, having orders to swear on oath by the name of the Christian's God, pronounced the oath solemnly, the treaty was ratified, and the plenipotentiaries departed to their respective homes. The river Urwan or Iborna, was made the boundary between both empires; the Russians agreed to demolish their newly-built fortresses, and a free trade was secured to both nations. Kang-he viewed the whole affair, not as a mere matter of concluding a treaty, for he says of himself, "Since I ascended the throne, I have directed military operations to a great extent. I have crushed rebels, I have taken possession of Formosa, I have humbled the Russians."

When the regenerator of Russia had ascended the throne, he was anxious to improve the trade

of his subjects in this distant part of his dominions. He therefore dispatched, in 1692, his envoy Ysbrants Ides to Peking, in order to establish the trade upon a firm footing. Ides, with great difficulty, penetrated the icy regions of Siberia; and after a march of seven months, reached the Mongolian frontiers, where he was politely received by a Chinese mandarin. Upon arriving at the great wall, he was very much astonished at this extraordinary structure, which is one of the wonders of the world. We give the description in his own words: "About 500 fathoms from the famous wall, is an extensive valley, each side of which is provided with a battery of hewn stone. Passing through the fore-wall, we came to the entry of the great wall, through a watch-tower, about 8 fathoms high, arched over with hewn stone, and provided with massy doors strengthened with iron. The wall runs from east to west across the valley over extraordinary high rocks, with a tower built upon it, at the distance of 500 fathoms." He passed several other forts, which are much admired by him, until he arrived at the city of Galchan. His arrival at Peking was welcomed both by the people and government. His whole retinue, consisting of ninety persons, returned thanks to the great God, who after a long and difficult journey of one year and eight months,

had conducted them safe to the desired place, without the loss of more than one man. Within a few days he had an audience with Kang-he, when he delivered his credentials, and performed the customary ceremonies; but we are not told in what the latter consisted. He was again invited to eat in the imperial presence. Seated near the throne, cross-legged, he received several dishes from the imperial table, which to him were very savoury. The emperor put to him important questions, worthy so great a monarch, about the state of Europe and the different empires. In this he displayed a superiority, of which none of his predecessors or successors can boast, who without exception have entertained foreign envoys with childish talk. At the last levee the herald appeared, and exclaimed, knock head! The obeisance was immediately performed; but the ambassador does not mention, that he himself was a party amongst the humble slaves. They were dismissed with many presents, and the greatest affability, which was natural to Kang-he. Ides does not inform us how he succeeded in his embassy. He visited, during his stay at Peking, a cloister of the Jesuits. Here he saw under a roof, built on purpose, one celestial, and one terrestrial globe of extraordinary size, and a beautiful church, with all the tinsel of popery, so spacious as to con-

tain 3000 people. He saw the greater part of Peking, and had no difficulties in walking about the street wherever he chose. In fact, he appears to have been the only ambassador, who has been treated as such by the celestial court.

The friendly reception of this ambassador did not fully guarantee the continuation of peace. The trade was carried on to the great disadvantage of the Russians, who again endeavoured to extend their territories, founded new settlements along the river Amoor in opposition to the treaty, and built also the fortress Albazin. It was expected that the Chinese would overlook these encroachments, and connive at them merely for the sake of continuing the trade in furs, a commodity which is indispensably necessary to their dress. In these hopes they were greatly deceived. The Mongols, who are good hunters, were able to furnish the necessary furs; and received orders to spread themselves along the banks of the Amoor, in order to catch so many animals, and procure such a quantity of furs as to render the Russian fur trade unnecessary. The Chinese government expostulated with the Russian authorities, and urged the strict adherence to the treaty. The Russians gave them fair words, but carried on their encroachments. The emperor, therefore, immediately ordered the Mongols to attack the Russian frontier town;

and they invested the fortress Albazin for three years. Peter the Great had, at that time, too much to do in the west to attend to this distant colony. The town was finally taken, and the inhabitants transported to Peking. This induced the Czar to send, in 1719, an ambassador extraordinary to Peking. The grand object of this mission was to establish the caravan trade upon a firm footing, and to settle, once for all, the boundaries of the frontiers. He entrusted Leoff Vassilovich Ismaïloff with this charge. In his train was De Lange, in the capacity of secretary, who afterwards remained behind as a resident. The interests of government were too intimately connected with this business. Heretofore, every Russian subject had permission to trade in furs ; but as the private dealers undersold government in Europe, to the great injury of the Russian finances, the Russian officers resolved to send the government's furs to China ; and transported them once in three years to the frontiers, and from thence to Peking. The value of one caravan amounted to 4,000 or 5,000 rubles, and yielding in return at least double the sum. The emperor of China, from regard to the friendship and good neighbourhood of the Czar, gave the caravans free quarters, and granted them liberty to dispose of their goods, and buy a lading in return, without exacting any duty.

This embassy had taken some women with them ; their Chinese conductor told the Russian ambassador that there was no precedent of any European ladies having been at Peking ; and wished to report the matter to the emperor, in order to ask for permission. " For," said he, " we have already women enough in Peking, and do not want an additional number." As, however, this application to the court would have delayed the embassy, they sent them back to Russia. They crossed the dreary desert of Shamo, and were forty days without seeing a house : all was a hungry wilderness, covered with sand and pebbles, and exhibiting not the least vestige of cultivation. Only a few Mongol tents relieved the monotony which everywhere reigned. To augment their hardships, snow began to fall abundantly ; and the weary wanderers were often at a loss what to do for fuel. When they arrived in the Chinese territory, they found that an earthquake shortly before had demolished the greater part of the cities through which they had to pass. Their entrance to Peking was with military parade ; and the Chinese officers vied with each other in showing them all sorts of honours. After so many professions of good will, the ambassador was rather astonished to find the door of his hotel barred, and sealed with the imperial seal, during the

night. He made representations to the minister who was in charge of the embassy; but he pleaded entire ignorance of this ignominious occurrence. By some persuasive means, the Chinese mandarins obtained a copy of the Russian credentials before they were delivered; the surest way to frustrate a mission, and to render its object contemptible in the eyes of the Chinese government.

The ambassador was required to perform at his audience the prostrations, which he obstinately refused: but it was alleged that the ambassador ought to comply with the established customs of the court, and when the emperor of China sent a minister to Russia, he should have instructions to conform himself in every respect to the ceremonies in use at that court; a very specious argument, founded upon an empty supposition. After a few days' delay, they proceeded on horseback to the audience. As they advanced, they found all the ministers of state and officers belonging to the court, seated upon fur cushions, cross-legged, before the hall, in the open air; among them places were assigned for the embassy, who stayed there, in a cold frosty morning, till the emperor entered the hall. The entry to the hall is by seven marble steps, the whole length of the building; the floor is finely paved with small squares of black and

white marble; the edifice is quite open to the south, and the roof supported by a row of handsome wooden pillars, octangular, and finely polished, before which is hung a large canvas, as a shelter from the heat of the sun and the inclemency of the weather. Having waited about a quarter of an hour, the emperor entered a back door, and seated himself upon the throne. The ambassador was then introduced to his imperial majesty, who, dispensing with all formalities, touched the credentials, and inquired after the health of the Czar. Delighted to have so well succeeded in avoiding the objectionable kow-tow, the ambassador was startled when he was reconducted towards the hall by the master of the ceremonies, who forced him and the whole retinue to prostrate themselves nine times, and to kneel thrice. "Morgu—knock head—bos!—kneel!" were the commands given by the master of the ceremonies, who, as a veteran court-serjeant, understood how to enforce his orders of ceremonial discipline. A foreign ambassador might as well persuade the pope that he was not the head of the whole Christian church, as prove to the Chinese that the master whom he represents is the equal of the peerless son of heaven. However, these stubborn Russians were taken by surprise: but as soon as this ceremony was

over, Kang-he changed from an unearthly potentate into an affable and kind statesman : he took the ambassador by the hand, and talked very familiarly upon various subjects. Among other things, he told him that he was informed his czarish majesty exposed his person to many dangers, particularly by water, at which he was much surprised ; but desired that he would take the advice of an old man, and not hazard his life by committing himself to the merciless waves and winds, where no valour could avail. He then presented to the ambassador a gold cup with Chinese liquor, out of which the whole embassy drank the emperor's health. The audiences which the Russian envoy afterwards had were very numerous. Kang-he was desirous of establishing a friendly intercourse between both nations ; he talked much about the vanity and uncertainty of all human affairs, adding, that he was now an old man, and in the course of nature could not live long, and therefore was desirous of dying in peace with God and man. They had the honour of congratulating his majesty at the new year. During the time of their stay they enjoyed perfect liberty to visit the city, and to purchase everything they chose. It was pleasing to observe that the enlightened emperor, Kang-he, condescended to treat them with so great indulgence,

as never had been done previously upon similar occasions. However, the Chinese monarch was well-informed respecting the great conqueror who sat upon the throne of Russia. He had heard of his great exploits, his successful endeavours to spread civilization amongst his subjects, and he conceived spontaneously a great esteem for his representative. After having received an audience of leave, the ambassador was permitted to depart. He received an imperial letter, addressed to the czar, which was rolled up and wrapped in yellow silk, and, tied on the arm of a man, carried in procession before the ambassador. All persons they met in their way, stood still, and when on horseback, dismounted, so great was the reverence of the people for everything coming from the sovereign. The Russians had seen whatever was worth their notice; Kang-he had studiously shown them those articles, which Chinese art, unaided by European skill, had produced. To give them an idea of their skill in bowmanship, the ambassadors were invited to an imperial hunt, where the hoary-headed Kang-he, (he was then seventy years of age,) showed himself an able and vigorous sportsman. They also were permitted to be spectators of Chinese tactics, and to inform their master of the strength and ability of the Chinese army.

To second the views of his Russian majesty, De Lange, a secretary to the embassy, remained behind as permanent resident of the court of Petersburg. The Chinese ministers at first opposed this measure, but Ismailoff prevailed upon Kang-he, to silence his narrow-minded ministers. But he met with very great obstacles, and had to combat the interests of both merchants and Jesuits. De Lange had received his credentials, and repeatedly insisted upon being permitted to deliver them, but this was always deferred. Neither was he allowed to exchange his dilapidated quarters for a better dwelling, nor to move about freely, for the avenues to his house were strictly guarded, and no one suffered to go out or in, without a special permission from the ministers. This strict surveillance arose from the jealousy, with which the Chinese mandarins viewed the presence of a political, foreign resident, who they considered as a mere spy upon their actions. They therefore did every thing in their power to disgust De Lange with his station; the primé minister refused him admittance to his presence, and the minor mandarins refused to have any thing to do with him. When De Lange expostulated with them, for having placed a sentinel at his doors, the mandarins replied that this

was done to protect him against the insolence of the populace, a common excuse for the watchfulness of the celestials. Even the provisions which were sent to him, bought for his own money, had partly to be given to the soldiers on guard, for permission to let them pass. A part of the house had actually fallen in, but the breach was not rebuilt, though the promise to that effect was given. There were considerable debts owing to the Russian government, outstanding; De Lange drew up a memorial to obtain them, but received an evasive answer. Actual threats proved, finally, more effectual than all petitions. In August, 1721, the first caravan after the departure of the ambassador extraordinary, arrived at Peking. They traded at that time, generally, at all places, in their way to China, and on their return, so that they were loaded with goods, when they arrived in Siberia. The immense quantity of articles imported considerably decreased the value of the commodities, and the profits upon all the articles were trifling. When, afterwards, the China trade became an imperial monopoly, and every private merchant was prohibited from engaging in it, under pain of death, the Russians were permitted to send but one caravan annually, which consisted only of 200 persons, whilst they for-

merly numbered 2000, who were maintained by the Emperor.

At this time, the good intentions of his majesty were frustrated, by the intrigues of the commissioner appointed to superintend the mercantile affairs of Russia. They could find no redress, though labouring under very heavy exactions, for every communication to the emperor had to be addressed through the medium of this commissioner. The mandarins laid a heavy duty, in kind, upon all the merchandise imported. When a memorial was drawn up, addressed to the prime minister, in order to free the trade from the heavy charges, and to prevent a monopoly, which the mandarins were desirous of carrying on, his excellency replied : "We look with contempt upon trade, and should never have admitted the caravan, if it had not been the special pleasure of his majesty, who had been persuaded to grant this permission by Ismailoff. Moreover, the merchants come hither not to enrich the people, but themselves." He, therefore, requested the charge d'affairs, not to trouble him with any matters, relative to commerce, because he would not embarrass himself any more with the merchants of Russia. When, finally, the trade was opened, and the mandarins had taken a quantity of articles, at the prices which they themselves had fixed, they

stationed four petty officers at the Russian warehouse, who had to interfere in the business of every trader who came to the house, and to issue permits to those who were anxious to buy. All this greatly impeded the sale of the Russian articles; but things grew worse after the Mongol chief at Urga had brought in very heavy complaints against the Russian merchants, who had come in great numbers to his camp, and engaged with Chinese dealers in extensive traffic. In the meanwhile, several Tatar tribes, dissatisfied with the oppressive Chinese government, had gone over to the Russian territories. The Chinese government claimed them, and interfered with the correspondence which De Lange had carried on with Selinginsky, the frontier town. For these, and many other reasons, De Lange was sent back to his country. Matters would have come to an open rupture, and Peter the Great was fully determined on having recourse to arms, when Kang-he died. Whilst the Russian government was waiting to see what measures Yung-ching would take, Peter also went the way of all flesh, and matters remained as they had been. The Chinese on this occasion, were certainly in the wrong, for, having concluded a peace and a commercial treaty, whereby they pledged themselves to afford every facility to the trade between both nations, they

studiously threw every obstacle in the way. Such petty and continual annoyance is the lot of all those foreigners, who fall into the hands of the avaricious mandarins, who always will extort money if it can be done with impunity. De Lange acted with great firmness, and thereby prevented much mischief, which the government might have done to the Russian traders.

On the 14th June, 1728, a treaty of peace was concluded between Count Vladislawitsch, Russian ambassador-extraordinary, and the Chinese ambassador. The fifth article states :—

“The Russians shall henceforth occupy at Peking, the court which they now inherit. According to the desire of the Russian ambassadors, a church shall be built, with the assistance of the Chinese government. The priest who now resides there, and the two others who are expected, shall live in the court above mentioned. These three priests shall be attached to the same church, and receive the same provision as the present priest. The Russians shall be permitted to worship their God, according to the rites of their religion. Four young students, and two of a more advanced age, acquainted with the Russian and Latin languages, shall also be received into this house, the ambassador wishing to leave them at Peking to learn the languages of the country. They shall be main-

tained at the expense of the emperor, and shall be at liberty to return to their own country as soon as they have finished their studies." This treaty, which has hitherto been observed, reflects great credit upon the Russians as well as Chinese. There was in 1685, a church erected by the transported inhabitants of Albazin; and priests, who had come from Siberia, officiated in it, according to the ritual of the Greek church. But this small congregation had almost sank into idolatry, and required all the influence of European priests, to keep it up.

The conclusion of this treaty ought partly to be ascribed to Yung-ching. He peremptorily insisted upon establishing a line of demarkation, and as this was finally conceded, many other privileges were freely granted to the Russian subjects at Peking. Keën-lung, upon a paltry pretence, put a stop to the trade, which had been carried on prosperously, and then complained that no ambassador was annually sent, as it had been hitherto customary. Trade was in the interval renewed, and carried on very languidly, till the two empires came to an open rupture. Amoursana, a prince of Soungaria, had sought refuge against the avenging hand of the Chinese, in Siberia. An application was made by the court of Peking to deliver the culprit up to justice. The senate at Peters-

burgh frankly declared, that they were in honour bound to protect the prince, who trusted to their protection ; but Amoursana died shortly afterwards. In 1737, the Chinese government, accustomed to lies, could not believe that the rebel prince had died ; but when they had finally learned, that this was really the case, they demanded that all the Soungaria chiefs, who had taken refuge in Siberia, should be given up, and the body of the deceased delivered to them. As these demands were not acceded to, the Chinese seized upon the Russian ecclesiastics, who were imprisoned at Peking, to remain there as hostages, until the matter should be adjusted. The empress Catharine, anxious to preserve a good understanding with the celestial empire, finally resolved to transfer the Peking trade to the frontier town, Kiakhta. This is opposite the Chinese frontier town, Mai-mat-chin ; in these two cities the trade has been carried on by the two nations. The natives from Shen-se and the Mongols bring their goods to Mai-mat-chin, whither the Russians repair and inspect them. The bargain being struck, and the commodities exchanged, they are transported either to Peking, or to the Chinese provinces, whilst the Russians send their purchases by a very dangerous and tedious way to Europe. The whole trade does not, even now, exceed two

million rubles in value, and considering the many hindrances and difficulties on both sides, it is rather astonishing, that it is still carried on.

Again, the court of Petersburg was anxious to put a stop to hostilities, and therefore requested the Chinese emperor to dispatch an ambassador to the Russian capital. This he indignantly refused, as being below the dignity of the celestial empire, and the empress was finally obliged to send Kryptov, her envoy, in 1763, to Peking. His proposals were not accepted, and the Chinese government dismissed him without his having effected his purpose. In the following year, the Chinese government put a total stop to the trade of Kiakhta, and sent a rude reply to the proposals made in behalf of the conclusion of a treaty. But heaven's son very soon repented of his rashness, entered into a negotiation, and concluded a treaty in 1768.

A tribe of the Kalmuks, the Tourgouths, had removed from Soungaria towards the west, and fixed their abodes on the northern shore of the Caspian sea, acknowledging themselves subjects of the Russian empire, 1616. Being an unruly tribe, they removed further westward, to the banks of the Wolga, where a Chinese emissary, Toolishen, arrived, in order to persuade them to return to their old abodes in Soungaria. His persuasive arts would have had no effect,

if the Russian officers had not oppressed them so much that they were finally obliged to leave the Russian territory, 1770. In their way back they burnt and plundered wherever they went. Only a few were retaken by the Kossaks; a great many were killed or starved in the steppe of the Kirghiz, and the remainder arrived in Soungaria. Keën-lung received the Tourgouth princes, who arrived at his palace at Jeho, with great attention, and thereby approved of the step they had taken. The Russians reclaimed their subjects, but the emperor reminded them of the Soungarian princes to whom they had given shelter, after repeated representations to give them up to condign punishment.

As the Russian government was satisfied by this reply, the trade was renewed as before. However, some deserters from the Chinese frontier came over to Siberia; the Chinese insisted upon their being delivered; this was refused. The Chinese were very much annoyed that this request was not immediately complied with, and addressed to the Russian government an angry note upon the subject, saying: "It is found upon examination, that should a thief belonging to either nation be discovered on the frontiers, he is to be examined in the joint presence of the authorities, and if guilty, punished with death. Pursuant to this law, in the 44th year, two men, who stole eleven horses from

you, were examined in the presence of both parties, condemned, and executed. Our great empire, acting eternally according to law and the faith of treaties (!), did this; not for the preservation of friendship, but from the love of truth, which it greatly esteems and wishes always to follow; but you, not executing the thief, break the laws of friendship and the faith of treaties. Our great empire, perceiving that you wish to act according to your own will, by the obstacles you throw in the way, and your duplicity, will on no account permit the trade to be carried on. Although our two empires border upon one another, yet our empire may call itself the elder brother. Thus, holding in the rank of empires the place of elder brother, and having at your request, and in your presence, punished the two thieves with death, while you now refuse us the same satisfaction against your people: shall our great empire, including all the universe, submit to this?—Do not you think posterity would, to all eternity, laugh at us? If, therefore, you esteem truth, the faith of treaties, or the laws of friendship, you will, though with concern, punish your governor for his fault and misconduct; but with your perpetual excuses and duplicity, we see this affair will not be ended these hundred years. Although the trade shall not be open-

ed, yet our great empire will not, for such a trifling cause, break the bonds of friendship in any other manner than by this prohibition. And you, on the receipt of this dispatch, ponder well; examine and consider this act as you find proper, fit, and beneficial. Thus much to you from our heaven-enthroned emperor."

The reader who is not versed in Chinese diplomacy, will think that justice, magnanimity, and truth characterise the celestial government, and that the Russians are vile and contemptible; but he who is in the least degree aware of the lying spirit and the specious arguments of all Chinese edicts, may very soon conclude how much truth is in the above statement.

The commerce was again opened in 1792; both parties had then learnt, that by cherishing unfriendly feelings nothing was to be gained. In order to prevent the recurrence of so many disagreeable quarrels, and to facilitate the trade, the Russian government gave orders to Krusenstern, who had circumnavigated the world, that he should endeavour to open a trade with Canton, 1806. The Russian ships went up to Whampoa, sold their cargo of furs, and took in a considerable quantity of tea, when all at once an order arrived that the Chinese government would not allow the Russian ships to sail, until a special

order from Peking to that purpose had arrived. This difficulty was happily removed by the interposition of the British chief and the firmness of Krusenstern ; but scarcely had the ships left Whampoa when a thundering edict arrived from Peking, which said :—" We are just apprised by the hoppo that two Russian ships had successively anchored in the roads of Macao, and that on board these ships two barbarian merchants, Krusenstern and Lysianskoy, had brought with them a sum of money and a cargo of furs, with the intent of opening a trade with Canton. It was found on examination that these ships belonged to the nation called Go-lo-sze. Though all barbarians are accustomed to frequent the port of Canton, the name of the Russians has never been observed amongst them ; wherefore their sudden appearance at this time, and their design of opening a trade at the port of Canton, cannot be considered otherwise than a very novel and extraordinary circumstance. How have the natives of Russia, who are wont to trade by way of Kiakhta, and have never visited the coast of Kwang-tung, now been able to navigate their ships thither ? and how have they become acquainted with the shoals and islands in their way from Russia ? This must be inquired into. We do now direct, that in the event of these ships having depart-

ed, and any other visit for the future the ports of Macao and Canton, or their vicinity, belonging to any other nation besides those which have customarily frequented the ports, they shall, on no account whatever, be permitted to trade, but merely suffered to remain in port, until the viceroy and hoppo, having reported to us every circumstance respecting them, shall have been apprised, in return, of our pleasure."

Since this positive refusal, no further attempts, so far as we know, have been made to open the trade. We are rather astonished, that an empire which has so large a fleet does not dictate what cannot be refused. In 1822, a consul arrived at Canton. This gentleman had some years ago made a voyage from China to Kamchatka; and was sent out as consul-general to China and India; but we are not aware of his having effected any thing in regard to the opening of trade.

A Russian ambassador was sent, in 1805, to Peking. The Russian government neglected nothing to render this embassy as magnificent as possible. It was composed of persons belonging to the most distinguished families of the empire, and carried numerous and splendid presents. Having arrived on the Chinese frontiers, they had to reduce the number of their retinue, because there was no precedent for such a numerous train on a similar occasion.

Other difficulties arose, so that the embassy was detained till January, 1806, when they passed the frontiers. The cold was then intense; mercury froze twice; and being without shelter, except mere felt-tents, every one suffered most severely. When arrived at Ounga, Count Golovkin, the ambassador, was requested to pledge himself that, on his arrival at Peking, he would prostrate himself at the audience. This he obstinately refused, alleging the example of Macartney. Heaven's son, indignant that a barbarian nation, which was tributary to the celestial empire, hesitated to render the homage due to their liege lord, dismissed the whole embassy from Ounga. A mission was sent afterwards repeatedly, in 1809 and 1819; for the regular abode of the mission at Peking is fixed at ten years, when it is relieved by another. Another mission was dispatched, under Timkowski, in 1820, and in 1832. However, there have been no material changes made in the relations of the two empires. The trade is still carried on as before: the Chinese, knowing the advantages accruing from it, will not be over-anxious to put a stoppage to so useful and beneficial a traffic. Neither is it to be expected that the Russian government, after the ample details of the utter weakness of the Chinese empire which Timkowski has furnished, will

again submit to new insults. Its grasping power ought to be too well known to the celestials, who have nothing to oppose to the victorious arms of their neighbours but irregular effeminate troops, and bombastic edicts—in which they surely excel all other diplomatists. How far are they now behind a nation which, two centuries ago, compared with the Chinese, were far less civilized! If Kang-he had not been shackled by antiquated customs, he might have been another Peter the Great; though the work was more gigantic, the task more arduous, and his means to effect the great purpose more scanty. But Kang-he's life was also much longer. Had he been educated in Europe, and been able to crush Chinese bigotry, he might have raised China from its state of degradation. But the ways of Divine providence are mysterious. Whilst Russia has been progressing, and become the terror of Europe, China has again retrograded since the death of Kang-he, and is now in a fair way of sinking into a state of utter helplessness. But we will not be too positive in our assertions, nor foretell the day when the Russians will chastise the insolent Chinese, but hope for better times in China. The time will surely arrive when this immense mass of people will be roused from their state of lethargy, and, throwing off old prejudices, superstition, and

idolatry, will adore the true God and Saviour of mankind. They will then be by no means inferior to any of their neighbours; but, respecting international laws, they will no longer treat foreigners as barbarians.

We are not aware that Russian priests at Peking have made any converts, nor that they have enriched literature by their labours. Perhaps their works are less known, and are stored up in the imperial libraries in manuscript.

It is well known, that the Russian settlements on the coast of Siberia are destitute of provisions; but it is truly surprising that no Russian ships were ever dispatched to Leaou-tung, where all sorts of provisions are so very abundant. Though we may be sure that the Chinese government would never willingly permit any trade to the harbours of Kin-choo and Kae-choo. But when overawed by a superior naval force, they will not scruple to grant a free trade.*

According to a statement made before a committee of the House of Commons, the whole Russian trade at Kiakhta, exports and imports included, amounted to 2,868,000 pounds sterling, in 1777; and in 1816, to six millions of rubles.

* See Bell's, De Lange's, and Timkowski's Travels; and Krusenstern's Voyage round the World.

But nothing certain can be affirmed of a trade which is carried on with such great secrecy.

FRENCH—SWEDES—DANES—AMERICANS.

The French trade to China has never been very extensive. In 1720, there arrived an agent of the Mississippi Company at Canton, who obtained leave from the court to reside there. But when he wanted to dispatch the ship laden with merchandise, he met with many obstacles at the custom-house, and from the government, who wished to extort money from him. Though he had already made considerable presents, this availed him nothing. He therefore gave orders to the captain to weigh and depart, notwithstanding the prohibition. However, he was obliged, to avoid being very ill-treated, to abscond in Chinese costume, and to hide himself at a convent of the Dominicans, two le from Canton. Here he remained till the Jesuits at Peking had procured him his liberty by presents. When he could again walk about openly, the mandarins were so much enraged, that they wreaked their vengeance upon him at every opportunity, and obliged him finally to embark for Europe. After this, the trade was again renewed, but carried on very languidly. At present a few ships visit Canton occasionally. Some French

sailors having been murdered on board a Chinese junk, not far from Macao, the Chinese government apprehended the murderers, and had them publicly executed, to give satisfaction to all foreigners.

Both in Denmark and Sweden, there existed companies for carrying on the Chinese trade. They carried on for a considerable time a very prosperous trade. But as the greater part of their teas went in a clandestine way to England, an effectual stop was put to their commercial dealings by the commutation act in 1784. From that time their trade has greatly languished. The Danes send still a few ships to Canton, but the Swedes seem to have entirely relinquished the trading to this part.

Ships from Ostend, Trieste, and Hamburgh, have occasionally visited the Chinese emporium; and the Hamburgh trade is rather on the increase; a few Prussian ships have also come to Canton.

When the United States had declared and maintained their independence, the commercial enterprise of the nation sought the most distant fields to carry on their trade. Wherever true liberty is the basis of government, a nation will very soon rise in importance. This fully applies to the Americans, who, disentangled from all restrictions, ploughed the wide ocean in every

direction. The high principles they cherish, the excellent constitution under which they live, the industrious spirit, which pervades the whole nation, imparted vigour and perseverance to the American merchant. In the year 1787, not above three or four Americans had visited China. In 1788, the ship *Alliance*, formerly a frigate, came from Philadelphia to Canton. She was not furnished with any charts on board, but made her voyage to China solely with the assistance of a general chart of the world. She passed to the southward and eastward of New Holland, and never let go an anchor from the time she left Philadelphia, till the time of her arrival in China.

Their commerce very soon grew into great importance. As the consumption of teas increased, and their neutrality in all the wars which harassed Europe gave them free access to the ports ; it is not to be wondered that next to the English, their commerce is the largest in China. The Dutch flag was, during Napoleon's reign, excluded from the port of Canton. Imports of teas into Holland, previously to 1817, were made under licences from the Dutch East India Company ; on arrival in Holland, they were deposited in the company's warehouses, and sold under the company's direction twice in the year, in quantities of about 20,000 quarter chests each sale. In addition to some articles

from Europe, they supplied China with spices, tin, pepper, &c., and their ships invariably stopped at Batavia, in their passage to China; but the greater part of their imports consisted in bullion.

In 1821, a disagreeable occurrence took place, which, for a short time, put a stop to the trade. An Italian had thrown a pot at a poor boat-woman; she fell overboard, and was drowned. The Chinese law in regard to homicide, is as follows :—

“ All persons guilty of killing in an affray, that is to say striking in a quarrel or affray, so as to kill, though without any express or implied design to kill, shall, whether the blow was struck with the hand or the foot, a metal weapon, or with any instrument of any kind, suffer death by being strangled, after the usual period of confinement. All persons guilty of killing with an intent to kill, shall suffer death by being beheaded, after being confined the usual period. When several persons contrive an affray, in the course of which an individual is killed, the person who inflicts the severest blow or wound, shall be strangled after the usual period of confinement.”

When the death was reported to the viceroy, he ordered the American consul to deliver up the sailor for trial. As this was refused, a stop was put to the trade, and both the security mer-

chant and the linguist of the ship, where the sailor lived, were arrested. After this a negotiation between the Americans and the local government commenced. In the course of it an inferior mandarin, accompanied by a party of American gentlemen visited the ship; the mandarin was allowed to put some questions to the sailor, whose name was Terranova. On the 25th October, another mandarin was deputed to Whampoa, by order of the viceroy, he received possession of the unfortunate sailor, who surrendered himself voluntarily into their hands. He was immediately conveyed to the Conso-house, which belongs to the hong merchants. During the two following days, the forms of a Chinese trial were gone through in the same place, but the particulars are not known, as no foreigner of any description was allowed to be present. On the third day he was brought forth, and strangled without the walls of the city. The poor man could not persuade himself that he was to be executed; even on the same morning he was cheerful, and unconscious of what should befall him. The body was given to the Americans, and the trade opened on the same day.

This unexpected result caused great indignation among the foreigners generally at Canton. They all considered the secrecy and precipitancy

in this affair, as a violation of the national principles of justice, or even of the forms of Chinese law, such as it is administered in ordinary cases. But the local government is very anxious to inflict a salutary terror upon barbarians, in order to curb their unruly passions. The feelings of the natives are also very hostile towards foreigners; they even dared to reproach their own government, for having too much conceded to the English in 1807. It ought to be remarked, that this applies solely to Canton, where government has endeavoured by every means to inspire them with hatred and contempt towards foreigners, to prevent their being entangled in foreign customs, and becoming traitors to their country.

We quote some passages from the viceroy's edict, issued on this occasion.

After a statement of the execution, he says, "Previously to this, in consequence of the said nation's chief staring about, opposing and lingering, and not delivering up the actual murderer immediately, I communicated with the hoppo, and requested him to order the merchants to command the man to be delivered up; and I examined the records, and in imitation of an old English case, I directed the whole of the American trade to be suspended. Since they have now delivered up the foreign murderer,

who has been clearly tried and punished, the said chief has on the whole behaved respectfully and submissively; and it is proper to permit the trade to be again opened, and cargoes to be taken up and down, in order to manifest our compassion. The laws of the celestial empire are explicit, that he who kills a human being must die. The celestial empire's kindness, and favour, and tenderness to the weak, is rich in an infinite degree; but the nation's dignity sternly commands respect, and cannot, because people are foreign sailors, extend clemency to them. Let the hong merchants explain luminously this official mandate, and persuade and induce the said foreigners, all of them, to know it and to be warned by it, and to be thereby filled with reverence and awe, that each may ensure the safety of his own person and family, and not bring himself into sorrow."—In his report to the emperor, the viceroy says; "In the present case, the name of the foreign murderer, Francis Terranova, was pointed out by the said foreign ship itself, and it was acknowledged by him that the jar thrown was his property. If he was not the actual murderer, why did he become sick from melancholy? and, moreover, why did the ship captain put him in irons? In these proceedings and statements there is every species of self-contradiction and

incoherency, which all shows the crafty and deceitful disposition of foreigners. The said chief made evasions, and stared about, and delayed to deliver up the foreign murderer. It is, moreover, authenticated that the said foreign murderer, in open court, struck his breast with his hand, to make a sign of confession that the jar was his property. And more still, it is authenticated that he took the jar in his two hands, and showed the manner in which he threw it down from above. In this statement of the case there is no evasion or gloss. Now it is written in the law, 'When persons outside the pale of Chinese civilization shall commit crimes, they too shall be punished according to law. I, therefore, ordered to take the said foreign murderer, and according to law strangle him, to display luminously the laws of the empire. In every similar case, foreigners ought to give up the murderer, and thus they will act becoming the tenderness and gracious kindness with which the celestial empire treats them.'

We have only to mention further, that the family to which the woman belonged threatened next morning to represent the alleged murder to the Chinese authorities, and to demand the murderer to be given up for trial, but at the same time gave them to understand that all would be hushed over if the Americans would

give them three or four hundred dollars. This is stated to have been refused ; and on some of the inferior mandarins getting notice of it, the demand was increased to as many thousands.*

Some difficulties also arose with an American ship in Macao roads, which had opium on board ; but the matters were very soon adjusted.

Since this, no further difficulty has arisen ; the trade has always been in a flourishing state ; and many American vessels have also sailed for Mexico, Peru, and Chili, between which places and China a very brisk trade is carried on.

The Tables in the subjoined Appendix, comprising statements of the trade with China, have been copied from official sources by J. Matheson, Esq.;—a gentleman who has taken the utmost pains in forwarding this work.

See Staunton's " Notices of China."



APPENDIX.

No. I.

EXTRACT FROM THE CALCUTTA GOVERNMENT GAZETTE
OF OCTOBER 13, 1825.

A VERY singular scene has lately been transacted at Canton, of which the following particular detail will no doubt prove amusing to our readers.

Petition for the modification of the present regulations regarding the conveyance of foreigners from Canton to Macao.

In order that the nature of the petition may be fully understood, it is necessary to explain, as briefly as possible, the cause of it.

Foreigners, trading in China, have usually a residence both at Canton and Macao; this is necessary, on account of health, almost to all; but to the married, it is quite indispensable, the laws not permitting a foreign female (how young, or even how old soever) to put her foot on any other part of the empire, than that small portion of the little island, Macao, which centuries ago was allotted to a few Portuguese missionaries.

To go from Canton to Macao (or indeed to go through the Bogue at all) a foreigner, unless he take advantage of a ship,

is obliged to take out a *chop* or licence, and proceed in no other conveyance than a boat of the country. For the chop, formerly 400 dollars were demanded; but of late, the Chinese have been satisfied with 300. The hire of the boat may be rated at 30. Thus, to perform a journey of only 75 or 80 miles, by water, in a country affording to the natives the cheapest water-carriage in the world, a foreigner has to pay no less a sum than 330 dollars.

In order to avoid so gross an imposition, foreigners are obliged to travel clandestinely. To effect this they hire what are called *fast-boats*—boats built for sailing and rowing with unusual celerity. This conveyance costs them only about fifty dollars.

But the very possible evil arising from their mode of travelling is of magnitude. The party may be detected by the boats of the police; and when this happens (which it several times has) he suffers personally the most ignominious treatment, and is fined five hundred, and sometimes a thousand dollars.

Two instances of such treatment having lately occurred, the English merchants determined to make another, and more strenuous effort, to be relieved of so serious an evil.

For this purpose all the foreigners, then at Canton, were convened, when a petition to the viceroy was drawn up and signed. It set forth the heavy expense, which the subsisting regulations imposed upon those foreigners, whose affairs called them to Macao—that it was an expense which many of them were not able to bear—that such were thereby compelled to resort to clandestine means, who, when discovered, suffered the grossest treatment, and had to pay the most extravagant extortions—that the petitioners were satisfied, his excellency the viceroy was entirely ignorant of the commission of such outrages, but that they prayed he would remove the origin of them, by so reducing the charge for a *chop*, as no longer to hold out a temptation to a foreigner to infringe a regulation of the province.

The next day a deputation of the meeting repaired with the petition to the city: they intended going at once to the viceroy's palace, but finding the gate closed, they were obliged to be satisfied with handing it to an inferior mandarin; and then returned to their factories.

A few days after, they learned that the security merchants had been called before the viceroy, and questioned upon the business.

It is proper here to explain, that the security merchants are the only channel, through which foreigners are, in strictness, allowed to address the government; but it being notorious that the dread is so great which these people have of appearing at all in the presence of the viceroy, more especially with a petition from foreigners, that rather than do so, they will resort to the lowest subterfuge, foreigners now go themselves with their petitions to the city-gate, and there deliver them to the officer who may be in attendance.

The desire of foreigners has always been to repair at once to the viceroy, but until the present instance, they had never been able to rush into the city, before the gate could be closed. They have, therefore, been compelled to wait, exposed to the sun, and to the gaze of the rabble, until the mandarin of the gate chose to send an inferior officer to receive the petitions. In some instances parties have had to wait two, and even three days, before their petition was received.

To return—The present petition having been received, the security merchants were summoned before the viceroy: who, making himself some inquiries, referred them to the hoppo (the collector of customs.) After receiving instructions from this personage, they waited the next day upon a meeting of the foreigners, to learn the extent of their wishes. They were informed that the foreigners would readily pay 15 or 20 dollars for the *chop*, besides the usual hire of the boat. They were promised the matter should be considered of.

Day after day passing without any thing being determined

upon, the foreigners became persuaded the security merchants, instead of advocating their cause, were throwing obstacles in the way of it: and therefore resolved, after having waited eighteen days for an answer to their first petition, to use their utmost endeavours to present a second to the viceroy himself.

To this end another meeting was held, and the above resolution being unanimously agreed to, a second petition was drawn up and signed. It was an exact copy of the first, with an addition, stating that the first not having yet been answered, they apprehended it had not been presented to his excellency.

Immediately after signing this petition, thirty-seven of the meeting repaired with it, in a body, to the city; owing to the haste they had made, they found the gate open; they instantly rushed through it, and stopped not till they came to a house, which, supposing it might be the viceroy's, they entered without opposition. It proved to be a *joss-house*; having discovered their mistake, and observing a soldier to run immediately out of it, they shrewdly suspected he would run to the palace, to report what had happened, and instantly determined upon following him; with him, after a short but quick run, they entered another large house, with the levelling of only one man; from the large lanterns before this house, and the number of the soldiers in the court-yard, the party concluded they were at length at the viceroy's palace; and congratulated themselves upon their having so soon, and so safely discovered it. They were not long, however, in being undeceived; it proved to be the residence only of the *kong-keep*, or commandant of that quarter of the city; and also, which was still more unfortunate, there happened then to be in the inner apartments some females of the mandarin's family. This intelligence occasioned very great regret: not from personal apprehension, but because having encroached upon a private dwelling, it would be construed into an insult offered to the person of the mandarin, and thence be made a ground for the petition being refused. For this reason, as well as from a becoming feeling of delicacy,

a motion was instantly made to quit this house, and proceed to the viceroy's, but it being ascertained, that by this time so great a concourse of people had assembled in the street, that all further progress would be impracticable, the motion was obliged to be abandoned. To this the party were the more reconciled, because it being the residence of so important an officer as the kong-heep, he would either himself receive their petition, or cause them to be safely conducted to the proper place of audience. They had moreover not encroached upon any private room; they were in an open hall, facing the street gates. It was now one o'clock; at about two the second linguist came. He was sent by the kong-heep to learn the cause of so singular an obtrusion: being informed of all particulars, he acquainted the party with the mistake they had made, and earnestly entreated them, not only to leave the house, but to depart the city. He was informed they would do so, the instant their petition was received. He replied that could not possibly be, but departed with the answer. About half an hour after this, the security merchants, with the head linguist, appeared and now it was, that business commenced. The security merchants, in the greatest consternation, expressed their grief at the outrage, which had been committed; and prayed the party to remedy it by immediately leaving the city. The security merchants were informed, that they themselves were the authors of the evil: that grieved as the party were, at the mistake they had made, in regard to the house, yet they could not depart without their petition being received, either by the kong-heep or the viceroy. After in vain representing the punishment it would bring upon them, the security merchants left the apartment.

Shortly after this, a shouting was heard, and some soldiers came in, to prepare for the entrance of the mandarin himself. The party had scarcely time to seat themselves in order, when the great doors were thrown open, and two mandarins entered. The party immediately rose, and remained standing; as did the

mandarins. These officers were the *quong-chou-foo*, or chief magistrate of the city and the *kong-heep*.

The *quong-chou-foo* spoke, or rather vociferated for about five minutes. His voice and gesticulations were evidently intended to impress his auditors with dread. The linguist interpreted; the *quong-chou-foo*, he said, was astonished at the outrages, which the foreigners had committed; in first forcing into the city, and then into the house of a mandarin, and that mandarin the *kong-heep*, and desired they should depart. The linguist was desired to reply, that nothing could exceed the regret of the party, at their having trespassed upon the dwelling of the *kong-heep*, which was solely occasioned by their having mistaken it for the residence of the viceroy; but that their coming into the city was entirely occasioned by a petition, which many days ago they gave to a mandarin, to be presented to his excellency, remaining unanswered; and that they therefore had now come to put a second petition into the hands of his excellency himself. But that in consequence of the mistake they had made, they would willingly deposit their present petition with either the *quong-chou-foo*, or the *kong-heep*, and immediately return to their factories.

The answer being reported to the mandarins, they discoursed together.

The linguist seeming to understand, that they would receive the petition, desired the gentleman who held it, to come forward; this, upon the mandarins again facing the party, he prepared to do; he advanced a few paces, and when sufficiently close, tendered the paper to the *quong-chou-foo*; but if this officer ever intended to receive it, he now altered his mind; the petition was declined, and the gentleman retraced his steps. The *quong-chou-foo* again, with the voice of a Nestor, thundered out something, and with his party left the hall.

The security merchants and the linguist shortly returned and used every argument to persuade the party to retire; this producing no effect, they returned to the mandarins.

The linguist next came by himself, and took down the names and countries of the petitioners; they were then left to themselves and remained so for nearly an hour. By "left to themselves" is meant, being without the company of any official persons; for the court-yard or garden, before the hall, the whole time, was half full of unarmed soldiers and domestics.

It was now nearly five.—The security merchants and linguist now came again, and seemingly with a serious desire of bringing the matter to a close. In the first place, they said the petition could not possibly be received, that such a thing was beyond all precedent, and the mandarins dared not create one. They were informed, that nothing but an overwhelming force should deter the party from remaining, till some attention were paid to their petition. The security merchants expressed their grief at such a resolution, and their dread of the consequences it might bring both upon themselves, and the petitioners: after consulting together, they called four English gentlemen on one side, and desired to know the least they would be satisfied with. They repeated, that all they required was to be relieved from the heavy and unjust imposition, now levied upon their going to Macao. After some warm debating, the security merchants, collectively and individually, engaged that no charge whatever should henceforth be levied upon foreigners for the *chop*—that if the hoppo should still insist upon something being paid, they themselves would pay it. With this the party were satisfied, and prepared to depart; but being anxious to express to the kong-heep, their unfeigned concern, at having, though inadvertently, trespassed upon his dwelling, they proposed to write him an apology. The security merchants judging it would soften his resentment against them, eagerly seconded so unexpected a resolution, and mentioned it to the kong-heep; who, they said expressed his readiness to receive it; besides this, they desired the party would respectfully bow on passing the quong-chou-foo and the kong-heep; who, they said, were now sitting in state near the outer gate.

The party having promised this, moved forward, in some order, and were soon in the presence of the mandarin; here, quite unexpectedly they were stopped, to endure another harangue. Every place was now entirely crammed with soldiers, armed, some with swords, and some with spears.

The linguist listened, on one knee, and then interpreted. The foreigners, he said, were to take notice, that they were now supposed to have erred through ignorance; but whoever should be again caught within the gates of the city, would be put to death.

The kong-heep now stepped forward, and placed his hand upon the shoulder of a gentleman, J. Matheson, as it were to address him impressively; in an instant he raised his voice, and passed his hand round the gentleman's neck, as it were to signify that he ought to lose his head. The gentleman instantly expressed his indignation at this action, and it was feared would return the compliment upon the person of the kong-heep; but instead of doing so, which would assuredly have produced serious consequences to the whole party, with great presence of mind he caught hold of the linguist, and twice repeated upon him the kong-heep's ceremony: astonishing to say, this produced no remark from the mandarins.

The foreigners now fairly moved off, and arrived at the city gates, through a long and dense lane of soldiery and populace.

At seven in the evening, they reached their factories; and that very night the security merchants called upon the gentleman who held the petition, and whom the Chinese considered as the instigator of the whole, and begged he would write the promised letter to the kong-heep. This was most willingly done. The next day they returned for a similar one to the viceroy; which was also as readily granted.

Two days afterwards the security merchants requested, that all who had gone to the city, might be assembled, to hear a communication from the viceroy. This assembly was called, and the security merchants informed them, that his excellency was

exceedingly shocked and exasperated at what had occurred, that to prevent a recurrence of so disgraceful a procedure, the city guard had been doubled, and had received the strictest orders to put every foreigner to death, who should be caught within the gates.

The security merchants were reminded of themselves being the authors of all that had happened : that instead of being the advocates of the foreigners, they always neglected them, and that notwithstanding the communication they had just made, should a similar occasion occur, a similar measure would be pursued.

The meeting then separated.



No. II. — R A PERIOD OF FIFTEEN YEARS;
LOYED.

EXPORTS FROM CHINA.						
SEASONS.	No. of ships cleared from China in each season.	Opium.	Nankeens.	Raw Silk.	Bullion.	Total value of Exports.
		ps.	ps.	lbs.	£	£
1813—14	19	58,761	207,130	140,129	..	1,892,619
1814—15	21	30,357	247,900	209,073	..	1,978,659
1815—16	26	31,888	227,700	37,642	..	2,252,587
1816—17	27	79,509	256,000	67,518	..	2,142,470
1817—18	15	60,726	225,000	55,597	480,000	1,907,157
1818—19	16	21,660	206,700	48,007	98,103	1,525,077
1819—20	24	50,928	219,700	111,432	..	1,932,497
1820—21	23	31,801	211,000	110,978	..	2,040,364
1821—22	22	94,166	153,000	106,981	..	1,884,251
1822—23	22	80,161	120,000	70,627	..	1,950,973
1823—24	21	50,316	2,000	79,616	..	2,078,904
1824—25	21	35,672	5,000	..	..	1,911,557
1825—26	23	70,629	7,000	..	..	1,742,411
1826—27	35	86,156	5,000	..	..	2,384,559
1827—28	27	53,925	3,500	..	..	2,100,117
	342	736,655	2,098,630	1,037,600	578,103	29,724,202

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Pearl
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Total 2,71

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YEAR

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account

	Hon. Company.	Ts.	Tals.	Dollars.
Broad Cloth ..	39,438	629,029		
Long Ells ..	136,699	3,352,573		
Camlets ..	1,992	71,874		
British Cotton Piece	896	28,680		
British Cotton Twist	10,272	445,380		
Printed long Ells	1,184	31,744		
British Iron ..	32,856	879,469	5,438,749	
Lead ..	Comm. included)	116,686		
	" "	15,375		
Cotton, Bengal	" " "	7,418		
" Madras	" " "	6,886	146,365	
" Bombay	1,910,936	" "	1,375,874	
	ed)	85,691		
	nases, &c.	107,139	192,830	
Cotton, Bengal			7,153,818	9,935,858
" Madras	Account.			
" Bombay				
Opium, Patna, and	5,783 a ts. 18 pr. pl.	Ts. 104,094		
" Malwa ..	1,521 a 24 "	36,504		
" Patna, exp	4,253 a 26 "	110,578		
	738 a 19 5 "	14,391		
	1,913 a 36 "	68,868		
	844 a 50 "	42,200	376,635	
Sandalwood ..	952	20,944		
Pepper ..	4,606	87,514	108,458	673,740
Rattans ..			485,093	
Betelnut ..				
Putchuck ..				
Olibanum ..	2,918 a ds. 340 pr. pl.	Ds. 992,120		
Ivory ..	3,670 a 150 "	550,500	Dollars. 1,542,620	
Sharks' Fins and Fish	925,200 a 58 pr. ps.		536,616	
Stock-fish ..	value		465,195	
Pearls, Cornelians,	46,396 a 8½ pr. pl.		394,366	
Lead ..	97,063 a 5¼ "		558,112	
Iron ..	10,051 a 9 "		90,459	
Tin ..	1,334 a 16 "		21,344	
Tinplates ..	12½ a 1,100 "		14,025	
Steel ..	2,043 a 24 "		49,032	
Quicksilver ..	1,331 a 68 "		90,508	
Cochineal ..	11,779 a 2 "		23,558	
Broad Cloth	value		55,643	
Camlets ..			34,076	
Long Ells	2,783 a 12 "		33,396	
Cotton Piece Goods	3,155 a 42 pr. box		132,510	
Cotton Yarn	34 a 300 pr. pl.		10,200	
Camphor ..	794 a 20 "		15,880	
Cloves	30 a 80 "		2,400	
Rose Maloes, Myrrh	39 a 50 pr. box		1,950	
Saltpetre ..	2,400 a 8 pr. pl.		19,200	
Rabbit-skins ..	3,002 a 26 "		78,052	
Rice ..	756 a 16 "		12,096	
Dollars ..	1,134 a 20 "		22,680	
Sundries ..	ask 1,264 a 6½ "		44,035	
			8,216	
			14,558	
			10,124	
	10 a 560 pr. cht.		5,600	
			150,620	
			135,186	
			6,026	
			4,684,370	9,262,653
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	Balance ..			
				520,000
				337,118
			Dollars	20,729,369

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